FBIS DAILY REPORT
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PACT MEETING SCHEDULED FOR 28 MAY IN EAST BERLIN

LD281505 Hamburg DPA in German 1452 GMT 28 Apr 87

[Text] Prague (DPA) -- The "Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact," the highest body of eastern defense alliance, will be convened in East Berlin on 28 May. It was learned from East European diplomatic circles in Prague on Tuesday that the committee is to deal above all with the state of Soviet-U.S. disarmament talks in Geneva, and apparently focus on new initiatives in the area of conventional arms at the meeting. [Brief announcements by East Berlin International Service in German at 1501 GMT on 28 April, Warsaw Television Service in Polish at 1730 GMT on 28 April, and Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1930 GMT on 28 April state that a regular session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states will take place in Berlin in late May 1987."]

ENTERPRISE-LEVEL COOPERATION WITHIN CEMA URGED

AU280904 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 21 Apr 87 p 5

[Article by university lecturer Laszlo Csaba, main scientific staff member at the Institute of World Economic Research of the Hungarian Academy of Science: "Direct Contacts Within CEMA"]

[Excerpts] The modern and critical thinking of the new Soviet leadership has had a refreshing effect on cooperation within CEMA, cooperation that has increasingly been marking time in the last decade. As early as the Sofia meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in October 1985, speaking about cooperation among the allied countries, the participants criticized the basics of CEMA's activity instead of using the previously practice of praise. This critical tone has been maintained in the last 2 years and it has had a positive effect on the mechanism of cooperation and particularly on the joint activity aimed at modernizing the organizational structure of this cooperation, an activity that has often come to a standstill. The working meeting of the member-states' party leaders held in Moscow in November 1986 and the 42nd CEMA session held in Bucharest gave new impetus to the activities of organizational modernization. Furthermore, according to the political decisions, the renewal should also be extended to the other elements of the CEMA mechanism, thus, to planning, long-term trade agreements, and the price and financial systems.

As is well known, decentralization is the basic issue behind genuine renewal. In other words, beyond the cooperation between the various state administration organs, to what extent are the members able and willing to charge enterprises with the task of solving concrete problems related to the distribution of labor? At the CEMA meeting of November 1986, Soviet Premier Ryzhkov also pointed out that the present direct contacts, which are mainly directed from above and are aimed at fulfilling the plans, should turn into real microintegration that develops at the enterprises' initiative. [passage omitted]

Hungary has always initiated and supported the development of direct contacts between enterprises. The complex program of 1971 also stipulated the introduction of this type of relations, together with the development of joint enterprises. However, on the basis of the experience of the last 1 and 1/2 decades, unfortunately one has to conclude that none of these microintegration solutions has become widespread in this period of time that can hardly be called short. Therefore, it would be expedient to analyze, both on a community basis and jointly, the reasons why the political will already formulated in the complex program of 1971 has, so far, failed to materialize.

The development of direct contacts between enterprises should bring about supplementary profits, increased variety, or other significant results for the participating enterprises in accordance with the evaluation made of each enterprise and within the framework of the general financial regulations. This concept is also reflected in the Hungarian-Soviet intergovernmental agreement on joint enterprises signed in November 1986. In the course of some other, more recent initiatives, however, this basic principle has not always been adequately considered. [passage omitted]

Constant direct contacts based on the principle of enterprise self-financing would lead to a better understanding of the economic possibilities of the member states outside Europe and to a more efficient involvement of these states in CEMA trade. [passage omitted] It would be expedient to considerably simplify and ease the rules regulating business travel and the CEMA partner contacts with foreigners. By organizing fairs and other business meetings, the CEMA Secretariat could also fulfill the function of an international chamber of commerce, and thus it could greatly contribute to developing the infrastructure of direct contacts. [passage omitted]

Deriving from its economic order and its fundamental national interest in strengthening the efficiency of cooperation within CEMA, since 1971 Hungary has taken several measures to promote direct contacts between enterprises, measures that have only recently been taken by other member states. In Hungary there is no need for the sector ministry to approve the setting up of direct contacts between enterprises. [passage omitted]

Today the Hungarian economic mechanism could deal with a higher level of direct interenterprise contacts than the contacts objectively available from the over-centralized system of multilateral cooperation. Therefore, we are interested in further developing the system of multilateral cooperation and in implementing the economic decisions of the complex program of 1971 that have only remained on paper.

BRIEFS

CEMA COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY COOPERATION -- Sofia, April 22 (BTA) -- The fifth meeting on computer technology and informatics of the co-ordinating center of the academies of sciences of the socialist countries ended today here with the signing of a protocol. Delegations from Vietnam, the GDR, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria held discussions on the most important aspects of the cooperation in the development of new generations of computers. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 2052 GMT 22 Apr 87 AU]

CEMA MEETING ON COAL -- A 4-day session of the Scientific-Technical Council of the CEMA states' standing coal commission began in most on 22 April. The meeting is devoted to the solution of problems connected with coal extraction in difficult geological conditions and to other coal extraction-related topics. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Apr 87 p 2 AU]

HUMANITARIAN ISSUES SESSION -- Sofia, April 24 (BTA) -- A session was held in Sofia of experts of the socialist countries on issues of social-humanitarian cooperation and human rights within the framework of the UN. The session was attended by representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the Belorussian Socialist Soviet Republic, Bulgaria, Vietnam, the GDR, the DPRK, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, Hungary, the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and Czechoslovakia. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0829 GMT 24 Apr 87 AU]

REPORTAGE ON ATANASOV USSR VISIT, RETURN

Soviet Media Covers Visit

For coverage of the visit to the Soviet Union by Georgi Atanasov, BCP Central Committee member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, including his meeting with CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and the speeches given at a Kremlin dinner held in his honor, see the Eastern Europe section of the 29 April Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Returns From Moscow 28 Apr

AU281925 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 28 Apr 87

[Text] Comrade Georgi Atanasov returned this evening from Moscow, where he had been on a 2-day official friendly visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

At Sofia airport he was met by Comrades Andrey Lukanov, Grigor Stoichkov, and Stoyan Markov, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, members of the government, and other officials.

MLADENOV HOLDS TALKS, ENDS VISIT IN CYPRUS

Speaks With Iakovou

AU272005 Sofia BTA in English 1824 GMT 27 Apr 87

[Text] Nicosia, April 27 (BTA Spec. Corr.) -- The official Bulgaro-Cyprian talks started here today. The delegations of the two countries are headed by Bulgaria's Foreign Minister Mr. Petur Mladenov and by Cyprus' Foreign Minister Mr. Yeoryios Iakovou.

In a constructive spirit and in a sincere and friendly atmosphere the two sides discussed topical international issues paying special attention to the issues of consolidating peace and security. It was observed that stands of the two countries on the discussed problems are coinciding or similar. The talks expressed serious concern over the complicated, tense and dangerous situation in Europe and the world.

The talks expressed support for the initiatives directed towards the stopping of the arms race and towards the total elimination of all mass annihilation weapons. The two sides analyzed the Soviet proposals for eliminating the medium range missiles and of the short-range missiles in Europe. It was stressed that an agreement in this field would be not only of military but also of political importance and would give an impetus to the other talks on disarmament.

The two ministers declared themselves in favour of a peaceful political and negotiated settlement of international disputes and regional conflicts. The sides paid special attention to the situation in the Middle East. They condemned the aggression and supported the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. Mr Mladenov and Mr Iakovou said they believed that the only possible road to a settlement of the crisis passed through the convocation of a U.N.-sponsored international Middle East peace conference, to be attended by all parties concerned.

Serious concern was voiced over the lack of progress on the settlement of the Cyprus problem. An emphasis was laid on the need for a just and lasting solution, which would guarantee the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of Cyprus, with due respect for the interests of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Such a settlement should rule out the partition of Cyprus in any form whatsoever and should ensure a demilitarization of the island through the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the dismantling of foreign military bases and installations. The sides declared themselves in support of the constructive and realistic Soviet proposals, announced on January 21, 1986, which contained clear-cut principles and suggested a way to achieve a viable and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem.

Mr Yeoryios Iakovou commended highly and expressed his government's gratitude for the principled and consistent position taken by the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the Cyprus problem.

The situation in the Balkans figured prominently on the two ministers' agenda. They stressed the need for further specific steps to be made in the search of goodneighbourliness and understanding. The realization of the initiatives to ban nuclear and chemical weapons from the Balkans will be of considerable importance in this respect.

The talks also centered on the state and prospects of the relations between Bulgaria and Cyprus. It was ascertained with satisfaction that they are placed on a durable and sound basis and make rapid progress. They have been decisively helpéd in this by the common understanding reached in Sofia in November 1981 between Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, and Mr Spiros Kiprianou, president of Cyprus, as well as by the traditional ties of friendship and mutual respect maintained between the two peoples.

The two ministers reiterated their countries' preparedness to use the existing opportunities and to look for and introduce new and efficient forms to widen and diversify relations in all spheres.

Mr Peter Mladenov invited Mr Yeoryios Iakovou, minister of foreign affairs of Cyprus, to visit Bulgaria at his convenience. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

Concludes Visit 28 Apr

Sofia BTA in English 1755 GMT 28 Apr 87

[Text] Sofia, April 28 (BTA) -- Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov ended today his official visit to Cyprus.

At Larnaka International Airport Mr Petur Mladenov was seen off by his Cypriot counterpart Mr Yeoryios Iakovou.

The Cypriot minister of foreign affairs told the BTA special correspondent that the visit had taken place in a constructive and friendly atmosphere and in an atmosphere of mutual respect and good-neighborly relations, characteristic of the relations between the two countries. He expressed the conviction that the Bulgarian foreign minister's visit will undoubtedly mark a new and important stage in the development of the bilateral relations, which are to the benefit of peace and security in the Balkans and in Europe. Mr Iakovou expressed his government's and his people's gratitude for Bulgaria's solidarity with the just struggle of the people of Cyprus.

JEWISH BODY ISSUES DECLARATION, CRITICIZES TURKEY

AU251936 Sofia BTA in English 1859 GMT 25 Apr 87

["Acts Directed Against Goodneighbourliness" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 25 (BTA) -- At its plenum today, the leadership of the public cultural and educational organization of the Jews in Bulgaria adopted a declaration. The declaration points out that the People's Republic of Bulgaria is a socialist country the policy of which gives prominence to the care for man and to the equality of all citizens, irrespective of the origin and beliefs.

"We, the Bulgarian Jews are proud of being citizens of Bulgaria. She is our only homeland where together with the entire people we are constructing the new just society", the document points out.

"The religious Jews have their synagogues. The state renders them material support and thus guarantees the possibility for those who wish to profess their beliefs. This is true for all religious, including the Muslim religion.

"All fabrications about some forceful Bulgarization are a slander. No one is being assimilated in Bulgaria. We are all free to determine our national awareness", the Jews living in Bulgaria state. They point out that the reactionary forces in Turkey who launched the anti-Bulgarian propaganda campaign of vilification need it in order to cover up their own chauvinistic policy, the policy of persecuting the ethnic groups in Turkey -- Kurds, Armenians, Greeks, Albanians, etc.

By way of conclusion the declaration points out that the activities of the hostile circles in Turkey, who are slandering Bulgaria and are trying to interfere in its home affairs, serve the opponents of peace and goodneighbourliness.

AFRICAN FRONTLINE GROUP DELEGATION DEPARTS

AU270932 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 27 Apr 87

[Text] The delegation of the ministers of Frontline countries from the southern part of Africa which visited Bulgaria departed from the country today. The representatives of Zambia, Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Tanzania were received by Comrade Todor Zhivkov and had talks with Foreign Affairs Minister Petur Mladenov. Bulgaria's solidarity with the south African nations' struggle for freedom, independence, and social progress was confirmed during the talks. Bulgaria will continue to support these countries according to its possibilities.

The guests expressed gratitude for the assistance and voiced their confidence that our country's cooperation with the Frontline countries in various areas for life will expand and strengthen. The sides expressed support for the peaceful initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist countries, and expressed the peace-loving attitude of their countries as well as their willingness to struggle to strengthen world peace, security, and cooperation.

The dialogue, which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere, demonstrated that Bulgaria and the Frontline countries have identical positions on the main issues discussed.

FIRST QUARTER OF 1987 PLAN FULFILLMENT REPORTED

AU241929 Sofia BTA in English 1921 GMT 24 Apr 87

[Text] Sofia, April 24 (BTA) -- Good results have undeniably been attained in the development of the economy but they do not correspond fully to the tasks for achieving qualitative growth as set by the new requirements, reads the announcement of the Central Statistics Office on the fulfillment of the state plan for the country's techno-scientific and socio-economic development in the first quarter of 1987.

The most important event was the setting up of the self-managing socialist organizations. New production complexes and associations of a new type were formed. The first stage of the application of the new regulation for economic activity was started.

Compared to the first quarter of 1986, labor efficiency (based on net produce before tax) grew by 3 per cent. The costs per 100 leva of produce went down by 1.1 per cent and the output of all sectors with the exception of agriculture grew by 3.7 per cent.

The turnover of consumer goods (without spirits) has increased by 6.9 per cent under the current prices. The measures undertaken by the government to limit the consumption of alcohol have resulted in a drop in the sales of spirits by 67.6 million leva compared to the first quarter of 1986.

Bulgaria's foreign trade exchange amounted to 6 billion convertible leva during the January 1 - March 31 period. 83.3 per cent of this trade was conducted with the CMEA member-states. 62.1 per cent of the trade was done with the Soviet Union.

1717 new and improved technologies and articles have been introduced in the first three months of 1987. Production was started this year of the large computers ISOT 1014 E, the universal mini computers ISOT 1055 S, the automatic technological modules for the production of components. Other new products are wave reductors, high purity chemicals, "Medazepan", a psychoactive medication, special dyes for the electronics industry, special steel ropes.

The Microprocessor Systems Economic Corporation has produced 27.0 per cent more goods than in the first quarter of 1986. The plant for computer disk drives has increased its production by 23.8 per cent and the Complex Automation of Technological Processes Company has increased its output by 11.7 per cent over the same period.

The low temperatures in March brought about a considerable delay in agricultural works. Strongly affected was sowing in northern Bulgaria.

The announcement notes that a number of economic organizations have not elaborated their plans in such a way as to be able to fulfill the state plans especially as far as the technological up-dating of the production processes is concerned. Certain difficulties have been experienced in the supplying of the enterprises with materials because some companies have not fulfilled their plans for the first three months of this year. A change of the style and methods of work is necessary in order to overcome the shortcomings, improve discipline and organization and increase personal responsibility. A more efficient use should be made of the potential of the new organizational structures and the new regulation for economic activity.

DRA ACTING PRESIDENT SHAMKANI RECEIVES CHNOUPEK

LD282130 Prague CTK in English 1746 GMT 28 Apr 87

[Text] Kabul, April 28 (CTK correspondent) -- Mohamad Haji Shamkani, acting president of the Afghan Revolutionary Council Presidium received here today Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek.

The Czechoslovak representative appreciated Afghanistan's effort to ensure calm in the country, peacefully solve the Afghanistan situation and ensure all-round development of Afghan society. He spoke about Czechoslovakia's experiences in the construction of socialism and recalled the founding of cooperative farms and nationalization of industry in the country.

Mohamad Haji Shamkani noted that the individual strata of the population were increasingly joining the process of national reconciliation. In addition to members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan an ever larger number of non-people [as received] and former members of Afghan opposition, who have gone over to the side of the revolution, are joining the process through more than 1,600 national reconciliation commissions.

Mohamad Haji Shamkani pointed out the care given by the Afghan state to religious issues and primarily the development of Islam. The founding of a ministry for these problems and other steps refute the claims of Western propaganda that Islam is threatened in Afghanistan.

HUSAK, USSR'S BESSMERTNYKH DISCUSS SECURITY

AU281001 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Apr 87 p 1

[CTK report: "Gustav Husak Has Received Aleksandr Bessmertnykh; Full Support For USSR's Initiatives"]

[Text] Prague (CTK) -- Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, yesterday [21 April] received Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, who paid a visit to Prague as a special envoy of Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

During a talk, key questions of European security and concrete ways of ridding Europe of nuclear weapons were assessed in the light of the latest Soviet proposals submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, in Prague, as well as during the talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

Comrade Gustav Husak was given a detailed report about the content of the talks with George Shultz in Moscow.

The highest Czechoslovak representative stressed the exceptional significance of the package of USSR proposals presented in Prague and during the latest Soviet-American talks in Moscow, which pave a real path to reducing the level of military confrontation on our continent and correspond to the vital interests of the Czechoslovak people and all European countries. The CSSR fully supports these latest initiatives and is prepared to contribute to their realization.

They noted in agreement that the immediate conclusion of an agreement on the eliminations of Soviet and American intermediate-range missiles in Europe would be a step of fundamental importance, which could constitute the beginning of a broad process of reducing nuclear armament. Gustav Husak stressed that after the USSR had expressed readiness to enshrine in an agreement on intermediate-range missiles the commitment to eliminate its operational-tactical missiles in a fairly short time, there should be no justifiable obstacles blocking the conclusion of this agreement.

In this way, the CSSR categorically rejects the U.S. effort at so-called military augmentation [dozbrojenie] in the sphere of operational-tactical missiles, which is at direct variance with the very purpose of the disarmament process, and whose realization would create a qualitatively new threat to peace and security in Europe.

During the talk, Gustav Husak also stressed the importance of the USSR proposals for strict and comprehensive verification of the observance of commitments arising from agreements on limitation of arms buildup and disarmament, while verification measures would also be applied on CSSR territory on the basis of mutuality.

He also stressed the CSSR's determination to continue to actively assert the proposal for establishing a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe, submitted together with the GDR to the FRG Government, and expressed great appreciation for the USSR's willingness to respect and guarantee its status.

Gustav Husak thanked the Soviet leadership for its extensive information about the course of the talks in Moscow, which create more favorable prerequisites for achieving the necessary progress at the Soviet-American talks.

The reception was attended by Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, and Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the USSR.

COMMENTARY VIEWS SIGNIFICANCE OF STROUGAL PRC VISIT

LD281012 Prague International Service in Czech 2230 GMT 27 Apr 87

[Text] The following commentary of the day, written by Vaclav Kvasnicka, is devoted to the significance of the current visit by Czechoslovak Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal to the PRC:

We can justly describe this visit as a new chapter in Czechoslovak-Chinese relations, not only because it has been a full 30 years since the first journey to Beijing by a Czechoslovak prime minister, but mainly because it banishes the shadow of past years, a shadow that was cast on the traditional friendly relations between the two countries, one which did not allow a more intensive continuation in the development of cooperation during the fifties. It is therefore no coincidence that both sides -- the Czechoslovak and Chinese -- have stressed that the visit to China by Lubomir Strougal follows up on the most sparkling pages of cooperation from a period when our country shared very actively -- during the beginning of the building of socialism in China -- in its economic development and when heartfelt friendship was born between the Czechoslovak and China people.

The new quality of current Sino-Czechoslovak relations lies in particular in that Lubomir Strougal's visit to China is taking place in a situation where both countries are carrying out a profound economic restructuring. They are modernizing management and democratizing political and social life. From this also springs the new and higher quality of their mutual cooperation, not only in the economic sphere, but also in the scientific, technological, and cultural fields.

There had been a marked revival of contacts in all these fields before the journey to Beijing by the Czechoslovak prime minister. For this reason, Lubomir Strougal's talks with Chinese representatives have been able to bring further, marked successes.

Or no lesser importance is the fact that this visit is taking place at the time when both countries have been making enormous efforts to avert a military catastrophe. The time has long gone when the former Chinese leadership regarded a third world war as inevitable. Both Beijing and Prague are today striving not only to avert such a threat, but are taking the initiative especially in the field of disarmament. In this area, too, China's stand has come markedly closer to that maintained by the other socialist states.

These all are aspects, which represent a marked strengthening of the positions of socialism and peace in the world. The visit to China by the Czechoslovak prime minister also serves such a purpose.

REPRESENTATIVE ADDRESSES PALESTINIANS IN ALGIERS

AU280838 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Apr 87 p 7

[Report by RUDE PRAVO's Milan Madr: "Session of the Palestinian National Council; Toward Hopeful Tomorrows"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] On Wednesday [22 April] the session of the Palestinian National Council was addressed by Miroslav Prchal, head of the delegation and Presidium member of the Czechoslovak Committee of Solidarity With the Nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, who expressed full support for the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine under the PLO's leadership, and welcomed the consolidation of its unity. He said that the Czechoslovak people admire the tenacious struggle of the Palestinian people for freedom, their courage in facing the strong Israeli enemy supported by American imperialists. He voiced the conviction that, much the same as the Algerian people won against the French colonizers and the Vietnamese people against American imperialists, the Palestinian people, too, will win their inalienable right to a dignified life in their own independent state.

Delegation Meets Leaders

AU280843 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Apr 87 p 4

[Report by Julius Loerincz, Bratislava PRAVDA special correspondent in Algiers: "Prior to the Conclusion of the Palestinian National Council's Deliberations; Contribution to the Movement's Unity"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The delegation of the Czechoslovak Committee of Solidarity With the Nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, which is attending the 18th session of the Palestinian National Council, was subsequently received by Nayif Hawatimah, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine; by Sulayman al-Na'jab and Naim al' Ashab, members of the Politburo of the Communist Party Central Committee; and by George Habash, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

In talks, the Palestinian representatives assessed as positive the work of the Palestinian National Council and its results to date which have created the foundation for an effective struggle to realize Palestinian national rights. Simultaneously they expressed appreciation for the contribution of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries toward the process of restoring the unity of the Palestinaian resistance movement and toward the fruitful course of the Palestinian National Council's deliberations. The Czechoslovak delegation assessed as positive the endeavor and attitude of all the main organizations of Palestinian resistance concerning the issue of strengthening the unity of the Palestinians' ranks. It expressed our country's firm and lasting solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people for the right to self-determination, including the right to establish an independent state. [passage omitted]

HAMAN CONVEYS GREETINGS TO DANISH CP CONGRESS

AU221405 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Apr 87 p 4

[CTK Copenhagen dispatch: "An Important Landmark in the Life of the Party; The 28th Congress of the Communist Party of Denmark Ended in Copenhagen]

[Excerpt] Copenhagen (CTK) -- [Passage omitted] The 28th Congress of the Communist Party of Denmark [CPD] was addressed on Saturday [18 April] by the head of the CPCZ delegation Josef Haman, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. By way of introduction, he conveyed to all Danish Communists warm comradely greetings from the CPCZ Central Committee, its General Secretary Gustav Husak, and all Czechoslovak Communists. He paid tribute to the CPD's role in the struggle to defend the interests and rights of the working people and to its eminent part in the country's peace movement, alongside other progressive forces. Comrade Haman stressed that recently a voice of peace resounded from Prague to the whole world in the shape of the new significant peace proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, during his official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia. These initiatives further develop the Soviet program of eliminating nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction and build on the proposals which the Soviet Union submitted to the United States with a view to concluding an agreement on the complete liquidation of Soviet and American intermediate-range missiles in Europe. They brush aside various Western objections and pave the road to agreements aimed at a Europe that is free of nuclear weapons.

It has been confirmed once more that socialism anD peace are inseparable. The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, together with progressive, democratic, and peace forces, resolutely oppose the attempts of the most reactionary circles of American imperialism and its closest allies to unleash a new round of the arms race and to take it into outer space.

The CPCZ and all our people fully support the USSR's foreign policy of peace. We are sincerely glad that your congress expresses the same stands. We have a vital interest in safeguarding European and world security and promoting mutually advantageous cooperation, especially on the European Continent. That is the reason for our own initiatives. As is known, the CPCZ proposed together with the SED and the SPD the creation of a zone without chemical weapons in Central Europe. A few day ago the CSSR and GDR Governments turned to the FRG Government with a proposal to set up a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe. I would like to stress that we ascribe the same importance to the proposals to establish zones without nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans and a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe. [paragraph continues]

Czechoslovakia is also showing initiative at the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna where it has put forward several proposals, the most important of which is the proposal to convene an economic forum in our capital, Comrade Haman declared. He went on to say: The socialist world is entering a new dynamic stage of its development. It is finding new replies to urgent questions of the times, reconsidering and changing what has become outdated, and testing new ways of a more rapid economic, scientific-technical, social, and societal progress. The CPSU deserves the crucial credit for this. On the basis of a profound analysis of the current stage, it mapped out at its 27th congress the strategy of acceleration, revolutionary restructuring, and democratization of Soviet society, which it is consistently putting into effect. Its course of action is an example of a creative development of Marxism-Leninism in dealing with the cardinal theoretical and practical problems of socialist construction at present.

We proceeded from the inspiring ideas of the 27th congress in drawing up the program of our 17th congress, which, too, is aimed at accelerating the socioeconomic development of our homeland, restructuring the economic mechanism, and fully developing socialist democracy. Nobody forces on us the Soviet experience. We ourselves identify with it because we know that its use with due regard for our conditions is of great help to us.

Comrades, on the occasion of the 28th congress of your party we want to express satisfaction over the successful development of relations between our two parties, relations that are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on trust and mutual understanding.

All the greater was the grief with which we received the news of the passing away of CPD Chairman Comrade Jorgen Jensen, who deserves credit for the good development of these relations.

The same day in the evening Josef Haman met with Communists of Norrebro, a municipal district of Copenhagen. In a discussion he acquainted them with the current tasks being tackled by the CPCZ. He paid great attention to the results of the recent visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to Czechoslovakia. Representatives of Danish Communists voiced spontaneous support for the processes of restructuring and society's democratization underway in the USSR and the countries of the socialist community.

The CPCZ delegation led by Josef Haman returned to Prague on Sunday [19 April].

KUCERA GREETS SECURITY CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

LD242200 Prague CTK in English 1130 GMT 24 Apr 87

[Text] Prague April 24 (CTK) -- An international seminar "Topical Questions of Security and Cooperation in Europe" opened here today.

This discussion of representatives of political parties, parliamentary groups and organizations of European countries is taking place in Czechoslovakia for the second time, after the first such meeting in 1984. It is organized by the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation. Its Chairman Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations, greeted representatives of seventeen European states, West Berlin, Canada and the USA to the meeting. [paragraph continues]

He noted that organizations forming the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation, founded 17 years ago, include all the five political parties in the country, the largest mass organizations and leading scientists, artists and workers.

Opening the seminar, Deputy Chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Vladimir Vedra stressed that the ideas of peace, detente and cooperation are identical with socialism and expressed Czechoslovakia's faithfulness to the results of the 1975 Helsinki conference.

He described security of the "All-European House" as a priority in the present international situation and recalled the peace proposals presented by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev during his recent visit to Prague at the same Palace of Culture where the current seminar is being held. Vladimir Vedra recalled the disarmament initiatives concerning nuclear missiles and other weapons and also singled out the Soviet effort to ban chemical weapons and support for the proposals of the Czechoslovak and GDR Governments to create a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe. He also recalled the Czechoslovak proposal to call an economic forum to Prague to promote equal and mutually advantageous economic cooperation on the continent. He supported the Soviet initiative to call a conference on humanitarian issues to Moscow.

The international seminar in Prague will last till Monday. Its topics will range from political aspects of European security to economic, scientific and humanitarian cooperation and the role of the European public in consolidating the process of security and cooperation.

Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Stefan Murin voiced the conviction that the seminar would give impetuses to bringing European nations closer together and strengthening peace, security and cooperation on the continent.

He stressed that achieving these aims presupposes direct involvement of the European public, democratic discussion of representatives of parliaments, the churches and all social strata and groups from all European thinking overcoming the limits of egoistic or narrow national interests.

Briefs Press on Seminar

LD262230 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 26 Apr 87

[Text] Czechoslovakia -- Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation, briefed journalists at a news conference in Prague today on the results of the international seminar on topical questions of security and cooperation in Europe.

He singled out the fruitful and frank discussion during which the Soviet proposals for the liquidation of medium-range missiles in Europe met with great support. He also said that participants in the seminar attach a great importance to the strengthening of trust on our continent, in which an important role can be played by the development of cooperation in economics, culture, and the humanitarian sphere and a broad exchange of information.

AUSTRIAN ARCHBISHOP GROER VISITS CARDINAL TOMASEK

AU241404 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 24 Apr 87 p 2

[Excerpt] Vienna -- The Austrian Catholic Church's contacts with bishops in east and southeast Europe, which are continuously being cultivated, have currently reached particular intensity. This week Archbishop Groer paid a brief visit to Cardinal Tomasek in Prague. It was a neighborly first visit, linked with the Austrian Bishops Conference request to discuss questions which are important in both countries; the talks probably focused on pastoral issues. For Vienna's archbishop it was the first personal meeting with the aged ancient CSSR primate and the first visit to Prague for decades.

On Saturday Archbishop Groer, as the official representative of the Austrian Episcopate, and Eisenstadt's Bishop Laszlo will participate in the inauguration of Archbishop Laszlo Paskai, the primate of Hungary, in Esztergom. [passage omitted]

BRIEFS

NEW TV RELAY STATION -- A station for relaying Soviet television's central program went into operation in Plzen on 21 April. The station's modern Polish-made equipment will make it possible to considerably improve the reception of Soviet programs, including the Vremya television news. The citizens of Plzen and other localities within about 20 km radius can watch the program on Channel 27. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Apr 87 p 2]

WATER SHORTAGE IN SLOVAKIA -- The water shortage in East Slovakia has led to a catastrophic situation and third degree alarm in Kosice, Presov, Roznava, Revyca, Poprad, Svit, Kezmarok, Stropkov, Svidnik, and Krompachy, where drinking water is supplied at certain times in the morning and afternoon and warm water only a few days a week. Water from cisterns is delivered to Gelnica, Prakovce, and Rudnany. Restricted water deliveries apply to 35 smaller towns. About 700 liters of water per second would be needed for regular water deliveries. The water reserves in the Bukovec reservoir are sufficient for only 4 months. In view of the situation, drilling was carried out near Kosice, which yielded a further 10 liters per second, and near Presov and Roznava, where they yielded 30 liters per second. All public swimming centers were closed down; hydrotherapy in medical care institutions is allowed only for extraordinary cases; water deliveries for the food industry have been cut down by one-third and deliveries to other plants by two-thirds of average consumption. The construction of the Starina reservoir is to be accelerated; by 1989 it should supply 240 liters, and in later years up to 340 liters per second to Kosice and Presov. The main problems should be resolved by 1990-05, when the Domasa reservoir is to be completed. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Apr 87 p 2]

LEUSCHNER COMMENTS ON WESTERN DISARMAMENT DISCORD

DW290623 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1710 GMT 27 Apr 87

[Guenter Leuschner foreign policy review "The World Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow"]

[Excerpts] Good evening, dear listeners: A poll conducted by a public opinion institute found out that 78 percent of FRG citizens advocate the abolition of all nuclear missiles in Europe. [passage omitted]

There is apparently no doubt that a vast majority in Europe and the United States is extremely anxious to begin immediate disarmament and to capitalize on the current opportunities. That is at least moral support for the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on intermediate-range missiles that were resumed last Thursday in Geneva and for the consultations within NATO about preparing an answer to the recent Soviet disarmament proposals. To be sure, it is also a moral obligation for those negotiating with one another. For example, a nonresponse by NATO would be -- referring to the example mentioned at the beginning -- an insult to those 78 percent of FRG citizens and to the will of all those who demonstrated last weekend in Washington, London, and Guernica.

It is inconceivable that there is still controversy about that subject in Western political circles, which show clear signs of nervousness, helplessness, and confusion -- things the bourgeois press greatly deplores. There are no clear-cut sides to the discussion. The issues cut across parties and government lines -- in the United States, as well as in Western Europe.

That became evident, for example, when U.S. Secretary of State Shultz said during a press conference last Thursday broadcast to Western Europe: We should not be afraid of answering our own proposals with a yes. That became evident when he commented on qualms that an agreement on intermediate-range missiles would mean the elimination of the nuclear protection shield for Washington. He pointed out that many nuclear weapons would remain deployed in Western Europe even after a zero option for all 500-to-5,000-km-range missiles.

Incidentally, about 5,000 U.S., UK, and French warheads that are deployed in aircraft and ships -- including so-called field combat weapons [gefechtsfeldwaffen] -- will remain, irrespective of the decision regarding strategic weapons.

Of course, that all goes without saying. Any politician should be aware of the facts, including Defense Minister Woerner. His remarks opposing an extended zero option were recently dealt with by former U.S. SALT II chief negotiator Paul Warnke.

It is very obvious that those who, for some reason, cling to nuclear weapons are playing with a stacked deck, using arguments that are either illogical or simply wrong. [passage omitted]

BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH BULGARIA -- An agreement on cooperation between the writers unions of the GDR and Bulgaria was signed in Sofia on 25 March. The document envisages the participation of Bulgarian writers in the international writers' talks "Berlin -- a Venue for Peace," which will take place in early May on the occasion of the commemorations of the 750th anniversary of the founding of Berlin and of the 10th GDR Writers Congress. The Bulgarian union issued invitations for an international meeting of young authors. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Mar 87 p 4 AU]

MARJAI RETURNS FROM MOSCOW CEMA SESSION

LD281022 Budapest MTI in English 0728 GMT 28 Apr 87

[Text] Moscow, April 28 (MTI) -- The competent deputy prime ministers and permanent representatives in the CEMA of the member states held a consultation in Moscow on April 27 with Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Aleksey Antonov in the chair. Hungary was represented by Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai.

In the spirit of openness and mutual comradely understanding the parties discussed issues related to cooperation between the socialist countries and the development and perfection of the work of the council.

Jozsef Marjai returned to Hungary Monday evening. Present at his arrival was Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary.

GASPAR HEADS TRADE DELEGATION TO BRUSSELS

AU272004 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Apr 87 p 7

[Unattributed report]

[Text] At the invitation of the General Labor Union of Belgium, Sandor Gaspar, chairman of the National Council of Trade Unions, visited Brussels as head of a delegation on Thursday [23 April]. He held talks with leaders of the host, the General Labor Union of Belgium, as well as with Ernest Glinne, vice chairman of the socialist parliamentary group of the European Parliament, the house of representatives of the EEC.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS HOLDS SESSION 23 APR

LD232318 Budapest MTI in English 1525 GMT 23 Apr 87

[Text] Budapest, April 23 (MTI) -- On the Thursday session of the Council of Ministers, the president of the Government's Information Office gave the following information:

The Council of Ministers noted approvingly the report of Gyorgy Lazar on his talks with Poul Schluter, prime minister of the Kingdom of Denmark.

The Council of Ministers discussed and approved the report on the Budapest session of the Hungarian-Soviet inter-governmental committee on economic, technical and scientific cooperation.

The Government discussed the transport situation and confirmed the guidelines of the long-term development concept.

The minister of agriculture and food briefed the session on the state of current agricultural works.

The government heard a report on the safety situation of mines and the 1986 work of the mine authority.

Spokesman Briefs Media

LD232328 Budapest MTI in English 1816 GMT 23 Apr 87

[Text] Budapest, April 23 (MTI) -- As reported, the Hungarian Council of Ministers held a session Thursday. At the press conference which followed, Government Spokesman Rezso Banyasz, replying to questions from journalists, among other things told of the significant damage caused to agriculture by the severe winter and the heavy rains in early spring. According to a survey taken in late March the winter grain crops were in worse condition than at any time in the 1980s. However, in stock-keeping the favourable trend that began last year has continued. There has been a sharp increase in the number of poultry and pigs. Purchases of meat and milk by the food processing industry exceeded those of the corresponding period last year.

Reszo Banyasz announced that the Council of Ministers had authorized the minister of health to present a draft amendment to the Health Act to the responsible parliamentary committee. If the committee approves it, then it may be presented to the Presidential Council in the name of the government, to amend the former Health Act with a new decree of legal stature.

Commenting on the subject he pointed out that this is not a matter of a comprehensive re-examination of the act. Basic principles continue to be unchanged: Free medical care, the system of payment for pharmaceuticals, the conditions of therapeutic work, and the structural and organizational framework of the state health service. However, certain issues that have come up in past years must be considered. These concern organ, tissue and bone marrow transplants, research in medical biology, and the use and testing of materials that are not qualified as pharmacons, but which are nevertheless, therapeutic.

Stresses Commodities, Transport

LD241404 Budapest MTI in English 2125 GMT 24 Apr 87

[Text] Budapest, April 23 (MTI) -- In connection with one question Rezso Banyasz noted that there are already noticable initial achievements in reducing smoking. According to statistics per capita tobacco consumption in 1980 was 2.4 kilograms while in 1985 it was 2.1 and last year it was only 2 kg. That, however is equivalent to 27,000 million cigarettes a year, meaning that continued societal cooperation is necessary to awaken more and more people to the risk of smoking, he said.

Regarding the session of the Hungarian-Soviet intergovernmental committee that ended Wednesday he told that it had examined the situation of fulfillment of top level Hungarian-Soviet agreements and had resolved upon the concrete tasks related to further advance. As is generally known the agreements of principle between Janos Kadar and Mikhail Gorbachev at their meeting last year and the joint tasks formulated at the Hungarian-Soviet prime ministerial talks called for an additional significant expansion in economic and technological-scientific cooperation between the two countries. The work, taking place in a highly favourable atmosphere, had already yielded concrete results. The objective for the period of 1986 to 1990 is to increase commodity turnover by 1,000 million roubles above and beyond the planned level, and realistic opportunities are being sought for additional expansion. The commodity exchange above and beyond the level planned will help to restore the equilibrium of the Hungarian economy, for in this way one third of trade turnover has a sure market, and it can count on planned imports.

Direct relations between companies have also begun a rapid development most recently. Numerous Hungarian firms have negotiated or are currently negotiating on opportunities for setting up joint ventures. We consider the favourable flows evolving in this field to be valuable and we support them, stressed Rezso Banyasz.

Speaking on concepts for developing transport he told that the government had now investigated the current state of elaboration of the concept and had provided additional incentives to continue to work. As the foundation for this it approved the report by the Ministry of Transport, and set down the task for the ministry to present the government with a concept elaborated in greater detail by the first quarter of next year.

He also spoke of the fact that the basis of the concept approved earlier, in 1968 had proved to be correct, and that there had been significant results in their implementation. For instance the output of commodity and passenger transport had increased by 90 per cent in twenty years, that the reconstruction of the transport network had begun, that electrification of the railways had continued, and that the level of public transport had improved.

Reszo Banyasz also dealt with conflicts related to the regrouping of manpower. He told that in certain regions and professions the situation of people beginning their careers had become more difficult. He added that as a result of the structural transformation last year new jobs had to be found for a total of 10,000 workers, and that most of them had received new jobs within the same economic sector. However, it is to be expected that with the increasing stringency of regulation the companies will be forced to be more circumspect in their economy with manpower, and it will become more difficult to get a job. For this reason, a comprehensive program is being prepared this year for the state guidance of the manpower mobility to take place in the time to come.

PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL ISSUES DECREE ON SECRETS

LD242307 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 24 Apr 87

[Text] At today's session, the Presidential Council passed a law decree on the modernization for the protection of state and service secrets. The creation of the decree was made necessary by the further development of the system of economic management, the spread of new forms of enterprise management, and the expansion of the obligation to provide Hungarian data inherent in the membership of international organizations.

According to the decree, information that is state secret is that which, if it came into the wrong hands, would endanger the security of our country or its important political, economic, or military interests. Information can be state secret if it is declared to be such by leaders of the competent organs. Information whose loss could threaten the functioning of state organs, social organizations, and the national interest representational organ of the cooperative, will in future be service secrets.

The decree issued by the Presidential Council regulates the methods and conditions of the publication and taking abroad of state secrets and service secrets.

TRADE, FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEES HOLD MEETING

AU281318 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Apr 87 p 5

[G.Ds.-signed report: "The National Assembly's Trade and Foreign Affairs Committees Held Joint Meeting"]

[Excerpts] The Trade and Foreign Affairs Committees of the National Assembly held a joint meeting on 22 April chaired by Matyas Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, and Rezso Nyers, MSZMP Central Committee and Economic Policy Working Committee member. The deputies discussed three subjects: the foreign trade strategy to be followed; the restructuring of the foreign trade system; and results achieved in the negotations with the EEC. Janos Peter, deputy chairman of the National Assembly, also participated in the joint meeting of the two committees.

All three subjects were submitted to the committee for discussion by Foreign Trade Minister Peter Veress. The foreign trade strategy gave rise to the greatest interest because the written report outlined the alternatives of this strategy and asked for the deputies' opinions and observations. [passage omitted]

There was unanimous agreement on the need to restore, or at least significantly improve, the foreign economic balance in the coming 2-3 years.

In addition to the 78 professional enterprises within this sector of the economy, the modernization of foreign trade organizations has led, among other things, 230 other enterprises from other sectors to ask for and receive independent foreign trade rights; thus, the number of organizations carrying out an independent foreign trade activity today exceeds 300. [passage omitted]

At the meeting the deputies were informed about the development of our contacts with the EEC. Hungary's joining GATT in 1973 represented the turning point in the legal situation of the contractual relations between Hungary and the EEC. Our joining GATT led to a wide-scale trade agreement between the two sides. [passage omitted]

The informative and unofficial talks with the EEC that began in 1983 did not lead to the desired results. At the negotiations renewed in summer 1986, we submitted to the EEC a detailed draft agreement based on Hungary's recognized contractual rights for equal trade treatment without discrimination. As a result of several years of preparatory work, for the first time possibilities are now emerging to reach a comprehensive bilateral agreement with the EEC. The guarantee for the success of our efforts lies in our consistent political attitude aimed at securing the implementation of our existing contractual rights. [passage omitted]

LESSON OF CHERNOBYL DISASTER DISCUSSED

AU290904 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 27 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Hanna Szalay: "Deterrence"]

[Text] Those who support nuclear arms argue that such means serve deterrence because they discourage a potential aggressor from using them if retaliation is going to bring a nuclear curse down upon his head. [paragraph continues]

Means with various ranges, although still nuclear means, are considered good because these could allow people to gradually introduce a nuclear element into an armed conflict. In other words, first the wasp sting and then the club.

It is as if these people have not realized that if anyone sets up a nuclear power station, he has already built deterrence for himself. There is no need for nuclear weapons to create the aftermath of a nuclear war in an armed conflict. It is enough to blow up the nuclear power stations. And this can be done even by small terrorist groups with a few kilos of dynamite. In other words, war is outdated because it is sure to end in a total loss, and this is not (cannot be) the aim of any political line.

There are 50,000 nuclear charges piled up in the world, and there are 400 nuclear power stations. Most of these charges are in Europe, and so are half the power stations, where 3-million-strong armies are facing each other. While all possible safety systems are installed in the nuclear power stations in order to avoid radiation escaping, the charges and forces are destined to launch this deadly radiation.

This is a contradiction that can only be solved by the elimination [felszamolas] of nuclear weapons and even, more than this, by the elimination of all kinds of weapons, by the actual disbandment [megszuntetes] of the armed forces. In our age this might seem absurd, but if we want more security for ourselves than those sitting on top of a volcano, then other means, bearers, and representatives, must be found to protect and enforce interests. I believe that the new way of thinking declared by Soviet foreign policy points toward this end.

Otherwise the following considerations could be behind the seemingly spectacular Soviet proposals and concessions of the recent period. [sentence as published] Were the matter less serious, we could say that it is ridiculous to debate the number of explosive warheads and the size of the armies when even a little is more than enough to cause irreparable damage; the main concern is to keep a tight rein on accidental events.

A year ago a seemingly insignificant accident occurred in Chernobyl, yet what damage it caused: 28 dead, 7 crippled, more than 130 people still under treatment, inedible crops, contaminated animals, the loss of a power station valued at billions, the costs of the power station crypt, the disturbance in international trade, a drop in tourism, and the renewed flaring of mistrust in nuclear power stations. Yet power engineers can put their hands on their hearts and say: Traditional resources are not sufficient to cover the ever-increasing demands. The most recent nuclear power stations are of increasingly large capacity.

This is why Chernobyl was of some use as well. The danger had been realized. International agreements were made on related information exchange and on the cooperation to be conducted in a similar situation. Yet the aim is to reduce the possibility of a "similar situation" to a minimum. Hans Blix, director general of the IAEA, said in an interview with PRAVDA that international safety regulations are required which are accepted by all the states developing nuclear energy. At present these regulations are being worked out.

Prior to Chernobyl, Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan expressed in a document in Geneva that a nuclear war has no winners; thus, it must not be started. This statement is very close to the general application of the unilateral Soviet declaration, which states they will not be the first to use nuclear weapons. The Geneva statement was almost concretized in Reykjavik after Chernobyl, and since then negotiations have continued on this basis. There is a strong causal relationship between Chernobyl and Reykjavik, and in the course of time this, by having a built-in deter, will lead to the rejection of the doctrine of deterrence.

URBAN DISCUSSES ISSUES AT 28 APR NEWS CONFERENCE

PAP Outlines Topics

LD281711 Warsaw PAP in English 1543 GMT 28 Apr 87

[Text] Warsaw, April 28: The following topics were among those tackled by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at today's press conference for foreign and Polish newsmen: slanders about Polish supplies of weapons and ammunition to the contras, statement on Marianna Magdalena Sokolowska, "Peace and Freedom" organization, elections of presidents of universities, cadres of professors, secrecy of mail, commentary on the publication "Lech Walesa's Biography", periodical bans on alcohol sale, Poland and the Rome Club and the question of automobile licence.

Slanders about supplies of weapons for the contras [subhead]

Asked whether it was true -- as the Swedish Institute for Arms Research holds -- that Poland supplied the contras in Nicaragua with weapons and ammunition, Minister Urban announced that this was nonsense or a provocation. These are slanderous accusations of some institution. All shipments of military goods are addressed to government agencies of befriended countries and are grounded on interstate agreements. Poland decisively supports the Sandinistas. It is not ammunition that flows from Poland but a journalists canard, Urban stated.

Marianna Madalena Sokolowska [subhead]

Asked whether the government spokesman could confirm that Prof. Sokolowska had started legal proceedings concerning slander in connection with last week's reply (about people with whom Albert Mueller, an American intelligence agent, had met), Urban stated that he had received a letter from Prof. Sokolowska's lawyer which indirectly threatens with starting legal proceedings. An investment in Mueller's case is underway, and people with whom he met will be interrogated.

Urban congratulated Prof. Sokolowska on her scientific title and stated that he did not make any reservations as to her scientific position.

"Peace and Freedom" [subhead]

Asked whether the Polish Government would grant visas to the guests of the "Peace and Freedom" organization's congress, to take place next week, Urban said that the organization was illegal. "It is aimed against the defences of People's Poland," he stated.

Elections of University Presidents [subhead]

Asked how elections of university presidents were proceeding, Urban replied that up to April 28, the senates of 51 schools of higher education presented, under Article 41, Paragraph 2 of the Law on Higher Education, candidates for the posts of presidents, that is, over 90 percent of the overall number of schools of higher education subordinate to the Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

Presidents-elects were elected in 10 schools of higher education (after candidates were agreed upon). The senates forwarded 126 candidates, reservations were advanced in relation to two candidates. Twenty-two current presidents, including 13 presidents who held the post for two consecutive years, are not running for the posts in the elections for the 1987-1990 term.

Cadres of professors [subhead]

Asked whether it was not time to rejuvenate the cadres of professors in Poland, Urban agreed that in a very decisive majority of cases nominations to the degree of professor came too late, adding that the candidates were expected to meet very high requirements. In Poland the title of professor is held for life. This also has a negative impact. Scientific qualifications determine the nominations and not only political criteria, Urban stated.

Secrecy of Mail [subhead]

In reply to a question about the secrecy of mail in Poland, Urban stated that it was observed. The fact that some mail from abroad was damaged could stem from the dishonesty of postal employees. Damaged postal shipments happen in each country, Urban said.

Walesa's Diary [subhead]

Asked whether Walesa's diary would be published in Poland, Urban replied that the Polish Government was not interested in that kind of publication and the writer, adding that Walesa lacked the Nobel Prize for Literature in his collection of awards.

Urban termed some statements made by Walesa as prepossessing, such as, for example, those in which he stated that if he had listened to his parents and went to school he would now be a plant general manager and drive workers away from strikes. Because he did not pay head to his parents advice he became what he was and a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.

Urban also mentioned that this year Walesa gave 36 interviews (7 for REUTERS) and held 11 meetings with Western guests of whom none complained that access to Walesa was made possible.

Bans on alcohol sale [subhead]

Replying to a question on banned sales of alcohol, Urban said that periodical bans on the sale of alcohol were introduced, for example, before the May Day holiday or during the pope's visit. This is aimed at keeping public order in large gatherings of people. This should not be mistaken with the complex programme of struggle against alcoholism, he added.

Poland and the Rome Club [subhead]

Asked what hopes Poland tied with the arrival of Alexander King to Warsaw, Urban stated that the goal of the visit was to create a Polish branch of the Rome Club and that Poland was interested in the work of the club.

Car Licence [subhead]

The last question concerned progress in negotiations on the purchase of a licence for a passenger car by Poland. Urban stated that talks were proceeding on this subject and that the date when a decision would have to be made was nearing.

More on Mueller Case Comments

LD281429 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 28 Apr 87

[Excerpt] Government press spokesman Jerzy Urban announced at a meeting with journalists that an investigation is in progress concerning U.S. intelligence agent Alfred Mueller, who was employed as the second secretary of the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw. Persons who had direct contacts with him will be interrogated. Mueller's activity has been unequivocally assessed by international public opinion. It has been made official news that he will not return to his post in Warsaw. [passage omitted]

More on Walesa's Book

LD282314 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 28 Apr 87

[Excerpts] Today's press conference with government press spokesman Jerzy Urban began with questions. [passage omitted]

Donald Forbes of the REUTER Press agency asked [6-second break in reception]. Replying, the spokesman said:

[Begin recording] The Polish Government is not interested in these sort of publications and in this literary person. I can assure you that the government has no intention of publishing Mr Walesa's book which in any case I am not familiar with. On the other hand, I familiarize myself copiously with the various publications associated with the publication of this book, with the enormous political impact that the publication of this book in Paris is causing. I get the impression that Lech Walesa still lacks the Western Nobel Prize for Literature among the Western awards, so as to complete his set, and that is surely why he became a writer. In one of the interviews he now declares that he even hopes to join the Writers Union.

And I want to draw another example of nonsense. [Words indistinct] (?Lacroix) reports that Walesa wondered why General Jaruzelski did not keep the promise he made him in 1981 just before the introduction of martial law, and I quote: If he got the agreed sign, the sign of a last chance, this would indicate that only a few days remained to still avoid the irreversible. This promise, Walesa says -- that is, the promise that General Jaruzelski would give him a sign of some sort of last chance -- was not kept.

Well, this is an illustration of the nonsense that is being circulated in connection with this book in Paris. I wish to say that the last meeting between Wojceich Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa took place on 4 November 1981. This was not a face-to-face meeting, it was with the participation of Primate Glemp, and of course no such topics were taken up there.

This was simply an attempt, one of the last attempts by the authorities, to halt the unfortunate course of events and it was an attempt to create the institutions of national accord, which were rejected by Solidarity then.

Well, this whole political campaign around the book by Walesa, which has been kindled in Paris, is ridiculous, just as some of the statements by Walesa are amusing -- though the stranges ones are, I admit, interesting me. For instance, here is a sentence from the interview that Walesa gave to French television: If I had listened to my parents and studied at school, then today I would probably be the director of a factory and I would be banning strikes. But, I am a leader and a Nobel Prize laureate. Well, this is perhaps not a pedagogue's comment to youth, but engaging in its -- let's say -- spontaneity. [end recording] [passage omitted]

SOSNOWSKI DEEMS U.S. MARKET 'IMPORTANT' TO NATION

LD281316 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 28 Apr 87

[Interview with Boguslav Sosnowski, director of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by reporter Anna Andrzejewska; date and place not specified -- recorded; first paragraph is reporter's introduction]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemn, experts and those experienced in all say that silence is the worst thing and that this refers to all areas of life -- politics, economy, social affairs, and of course, our family and marriage. It is better to discuss things. After years of silence we are beginning to talk with the Americans. Let me introduce Director Boguslav Sosnowski from the Ministry of Foreign Trade:

[Andrzejewska] Director, a group of U.S. foreign trade representatives has visited Poland and talked to Polish businessmen. What has resulted from them?

[Sosnowski] Strictly speaking, this was a government group which represented the U.S. Government, the Commerce Department, and the Treasury. The aim of the group's visit was to conduct talks at the Foreign Ministry here in Warsaw a future meeting of the Polish-U.S. mixed commission which had already been meeting for 7 years, the tenth such meeting to be held in Washington this fall. The group discussed both substantive issues, which are to be raised and to which solutions are being searched...

[Andrzejewska, interrupts] Taking advantage of the occasion -- you are the director of the Department for International Economic Organizations -- the most-favored-nation status is still a sensitive issue in our contacts with the United States. Although it has been restored after all these years, but...

[Sosnowski, interrupts] The problem is that during that period our competitors took the place of Polish exporters on the U.S. market, and what one could call a return to the U.S. market requires some additional investment and costs. The U.S. market is, of course, an important market, for the United States is also an enormous market for purchasing. Apart from agricultural and food products, technological lines and technology in general are also involved here, and there is hope that we shall be able to buy some licenses and develop industrial cooperation which was, in fact, interrupted.

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES PRAVDA CHIEF EDITOR AFANASYEV

LD281505 Warsaw PAP in English 1409 GMT 28 Apr 87

[Text] Warsaw, April 28 -- Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski received Editor-in-Chief of the Soviet party daily PRAVDA Viktor Afanasyev who is also chairman of the board of the Union of Soviet Journalists. He is visiting Poland at the invitation of TRYBUNA LUDA daily.

The talk covered, inter alia, the experiences of central party dailies in implementing the talks laid down by the 27th congress of the CPSU and 10th congress of the PUWP, and tasks resulting from a long-range programme of PUWP-CPSU cooperation in ideology, science and culture.

The meeting was attended by Jan Glowczyk and Jerzy Majka as well a Soviet Ambassador to Poland Viktor [name as received] Brovikov.

PAPERS VIEW RESULTS OF JARUZELSKI'S USSR VISIT

TRYBUNA LUDA Comments

AU282012 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Apr 87 p 1

[Commentary signed 'J.K.': "A New Dimension in Cooperation"]

[Text] The visit to Moscow by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretry and PPR State Council chairman, was short but exceptionally fruitful. Its fruit is the Polish-Soviet "Declaration on Cooperation in the Spheres of Ideology, Science, and Culture," a document that forecasts a new, higher stage in relations between our states and peoples. The signed document provides a clear direction for Polish-Soviet cooperation in such an important sphere as spiritual life. It expands the platform of joint activity in science, literature, and art, and steers the entire process of cultural exchange and coexistence between our peoples toward democratization.

The document has been signed at a particularly important time in the lives of the people of Poland and the USSR. In Poland there is a process of socialist renewal taking place, and in the USSR a process of restructuring and acceleration. Although there are differences in priorities, which is understandable in view of the different level of socioeconomic development between our states and different historical experience, the paths of reform policy in the Soviet Union and Poland are totally convergent. So there is a natural need to make fuller use of the joint intellectual potential of our peoples, as well as the internationalist experience of history. The democratization of PZPR-CPSU activity in the spiritual sphere stressed in the declaration and the equal; and partnerlike nature of this cooperation will at the same time encourage a further rapprochement between our peoples, a consolidation of mutual respect, and an enhancement of mutual interest.

This process will also be encouraged by other activities clearly presented in the declaration. We read in the declaration that the PZPR and CPSU attach great importance to joint research into the history of relations between our countries, parties, and peoples. There can be no "white blotches" in this history. The centuries-old ties between the peoples of Poland and Russia require deep assessment. [paragraph continues]

All the episodes of this history, dramatic ones as well, should receive an objective and accurate interpretation from the Marxist-Leninist point of view and in accordance with the current state of knowledge. Everything that has consolidated friendship between our parties and peoples should be extolled and everything that has harmed it condemned.

In other words, although the history of our neighborly relations is long and sometimes intricate, Poland and the USSR both want the pages of joint history to speak out openly and honestly. For as Wojciech Jaruzelski said in his Kremlin speech: "Openness, truth, and realism serve friendship between our peoples well."

Polish-Soviet cooperation has a long history. The treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance that was concluded 42 years ago has provided the basis for comprehensive and mutually advantageous cooperation between both countries. Expressions of this cooperation were the fraternal help given us during the period of postwar reconstruction out of the ravages of war, similar help in difficult moments, and daily economic cooperation, which is constantly expanding from one year to the next. Of particular importance, says the declaration, is the enhancement of scientific-technological cooperation based on the most effective forms -- direct contacts between Polish and Soviet enterprises and scientific research premises, plus the formation of joint enterprises and design and construction offices.

The new shape of relations between our countries and people, born out of the fire of joint battle against the German invader, is and will remain a significant component in the new balance of forces in Europe. Past decades have clearly shown that an independent, strong, and allied Poland lies in the Soviet Union's interests, just as alliance, friendship, and joint activity with a powerful socialist neighbor lie in Poland's interests. That is why every addition of new forms of cooperation to Polish-Soviet relations is extremely favorable both for the Soviet Union and for Poland.

There is no doubt that the declaration signed in Moscow is an expression of new political thinking both on the subject of international relations and on the subject of relations between the fraternal parties. It is no coincidence that it is this feature to which all foreign commentators have drawn attention. They not only have perceived the Polish-Soviet subject matter in the document, but have also stressed that other communist and workers parties may avail themselves of the experience contained in the declaration. For it is not just to the peoples of our countries that the Polish-Soviet declaration presents new possibilities of joint activity in a process which can be most concisely described as a search for the best forms of socialist development and an imemediate implementation thereof.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY Comments

AU290855 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Apr 87 pp 1, 4

[Andrzej Bajorka commentary: "In the Spirit of Restructuring"]

[Text] The Soviet "perestroyka" makes a strong impression on anyone who visits the USSR nowadays. This also applies to official visitors, statesmen, and politicians, although for obvious reasons they are carefully prepared for visits and they arrive with a certain amount of knowledge.

Unlike knowledge, atmospheres cannot be transported. The atmosphere that attends every visit develops on the spot. It can be said with complete conviction that Wojciech Jaruzelski's visit to the Soviet Union is characterized by this atmosphere of restructuring.

The historic signficance of the restructuring process, its universal importance for the socialist community, and the fact that it is necessary for a better life under socialism are the most tangible and most frequently stressed aspects of the visit. Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski talked about restructuring, inter alia, during their talks at the Kremlin and in official statements. Wojciech Jaruzelski used the expression "convergence" in the toast that he gave at the Kremlin, stating that although conditions for constructing socialism are different in our countries, there is a clear convergence between the policy of renewal and reform in Poland and the Soviet strategy of restructuring and acceleration.

The declaration on Polish-Soviet cooperation in the fields of ideology, science and culture signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski on 21 April in the Vladimir Hall at the Kremlin is a document written, if one can so put it, in the style of restructuring.

The declaration deals openly, without relying on insinuation, with the question of bilateral relations and it notes that there should be no grey areas in this field. All facts and events, including the most dramatic and complicated, should be interpreted in a genuine Marxist-Leninist fashion. It is a question of not allowing anything to cloud friendship between future generations of Poles and citizens of the USSR.

Wojciech Jaruzelski's current visit to the Soviet Union is a working one. It is a short visit and, in practical terms, it amounts to 1 day.

The Polish leader will return to Poland on 22 April.

The atmosphere attending the visit and the Polish-Soviet talks that were held affirm -- as is being noted here in Moscow -- that there is full concurrence with regard to assessments, intentions, and aims concerning all issues discussed.

WASILEWSKI COMPARES PPR, USSR RENEWAL PROGRAMS

AU281849 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 25-26 Apr 87 p 3

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee Secretary Andrzej Wasilewski by Leszek Gontarski: "A Transfer of Values" -- date and place not given]

[Text] [Gontarski] The recent declaration on Polish-Soviet cooperation in the ideological, scientific, and cultural spheres calls not only for an expansion of mutual contacts but also for the building of new relations appropriate to the changes occurring in our countries. What is special about this new stage in our mutual relations?

[Wasilewski] The Soviet "perestroyka" and Polish renewal possess a very similar, and sometimes identical, program of action. This is not for the sake of imitation or for the sake of adhering to the same patterns, although of course both parties and countries are openly sharing their experience and availing themselves of solutions which prove fruitful under their respective conditions. [paragraph continues]

The strength of this programmatic communion lies in its authenticity, which means that each side has realized the need for similar strategic solutions to be implemented in each country's own way, each country drawing conclusions from its own domestic experience and dilemmas. Not all concrete solutions are fit to be applied in the other country, but the general development path of political democracy, basic economic reform, and the patterns of the socialist state is the same. That is why, broadcasting on the same wavelength, so to speak, we are able to find a common language with our Soviet partner so quickly and easily. In such a climate, all the noble traditions of our rich bonds with our eastern neighbor acquire new meaning. I mean the tradition of joint liberation and revolutionary struggles against autocracy, the joint battle against Hitlerism, and the sharing of our Slavonic origins. In this climate, there is clear evidence of a desire to clear the record of neighborly coexistence of the dramatic entanglements of the past.

[Gontarski] The declaration contains a particularly important statement about examining the history of relations between our countries, parties, and peoples. Is there anything specific connected with this?

[Wasilewski] It has been decided that a committee of historians appointed especially for this purpose and composed of leading Polish and Soviet experts will hold its first working meeting in May. Obviously, explaining such serious affairs cannot be entrusted to amateurs. Neither can one tell respnsible scholars how fast they should resolve complicated and intricate problems of history. After all, the point is to provide a comprehensive and objective expose that will stand the test of time, and not lump together easy and illusive historical concepts. There have been and still are too many of these. The point is to rid ourselves of them. One can speak with certainty about intentions if one refrains from imposing on these specialists some obligation to provide results. The fact that such intentions exist is clear from the upcoming meeting in May.

[Gontarski] For centuries our peoples have been joined not only as neighbors but also by a mutual transfer of customs and culture. That is the way it has been, and that is how it is. What should one expect following the statement whereby the possibilities of a mutual acquaintance of cultural achievements will be expanded?

[Wasilewski] Fundamentally new principles of cultural exchange have already been started and will become more apparent in the course of time. First, the burden rests on direct cooperation between premises and institutions of culture and art, starting with those that are the most representative, and ending with local and factory centers of culture. Each side has presented a list of 150 such cultural premises specializing in various subjects and desirous of cooperation with their counterparts. Second, as many representatives of various paths of creativity as possible should participate in this exchange of personnel and work, so that everything that stands out and is a cultural value in one country may be presented to the public in the other country. For example, the theater group of Jozef Szajna and an exhibition of his set designs will shortly be shown in the USSR for the first time, an exhibition of paintings by Jerzy Duda-Gracz will be shown in representative modern art pavilions in Moscow in August, a great Polish song festival is being prepared for next year, a festival of Polish contemporary theater is being prepared for 1989, and so on. Artistic cooperation of the young generation will adopt new forms; for example, there will be a joint film team, joint music groups, joint open-air painting, joint performances of shows by students in drama schools, and so on. All these new forms will encourage numerous, unimpeded, and personal contacts; eliminate bureaucratism and formalism; and serve to bring about a real acquaintance of and rapprochement between the modern life of both cultures.

[Gontarski] Poland has always valued Russian and Soviet art of the spoken word, mainly literature and drama. The applied arts and music are less known these days. Is a mutual expansion of offers in these spheres foreseen?

[Wasilewski] Are they really less known? Look how many people sing "Katyusha" or the popular melodies of Dunayevskiy or Vysotskiy, to say nothing of musical romances. And concerning classical music, look how popular the works of Tchaykovskiy, Mussorgskiy, Shostakovich, or Khatchaturian are in Poland, or consider great performers like Richter, Gilels, Rozhdestvenskiy, and the young laureates of Chopin and Wieniawski competitions. Of course, the new policy will provide a new impetus to these spheres too.

[Gontarski] What is it that interests the Soviet consumer of Polish culture in particular?

[Wasilewski] I am not the most competent person to be asked this question. It would be better to ask consumers of our art in the USSR. On the basis of opinions I have happened to hear, Polish songs are still very popular, although we have been unable to present them effectively in recent years. Polish film comedies also enjoy great popularity. The work of modern Polish composers enjoys great prestige. Polish literature is valued by tradition. One can say without risk of being wrong that Polish culture traditionally enjoys high esteem among Soviet consumers, and the market for Polish works there is incomparably larger and livelier than any other market in the world.

As far as cultural cooperation is concerned, the transfer of culture will increase. This is encouraged not only by an authentic interest in cultural achievements shared by both societies but also by an increasing interest in the sophisticated transformations in our countries.

JARUZELSKI SURVEYS 'REGAINED TERRITORIES,' FRG TIES

PM281823 Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 17-20 Apr 87 p 3

[Interview with General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and Chairman of the Council of State, by GAZETA LUBUSKA correspondent Danuta Mystkowska on 16 April; place not given]

[Text] [Mystkowska] General, I must admit that when I applied to you for an interview during your visit to Zielona Gora last year I was not at all certain whether my request would be granted. And yet it has been. I should like to begin with a personal question. I was born in Zielona Gora 10 years after the end of World War II. For many years we had regular, annual visits from the previous owners of the house in which I grew up. I remember that their parting words were always the same: One day we will come back here to stay. That was the belief I grew up with, as did many of my contemporaries. The protracted struggle for the recognition of our western border by the Federal Republic of Germany ended successfully in the signing of the 7 December 1970 treaty. This would suggest that a return of our predecessors is not possible. But can we be certain of that? So many things are changing in the world outside and in Europe.... What guarantee can I have, as a Pole, that no strangers will ever knock on my door to claim my house? And can my 4-year old son, who also was born in Zielona Gora, also rely on such a guarantee?

[Jaruzelski] I understand your anxiety. It hinges directly on two inseparably linked questions: that of human fortunes on the one hand and that of the national raison d'etat on the other. This is a fundamental problem for our nation. You ask whether our western and northern territories, which are still automatically referred to as regained, will forever remain in the motherland.

For us there is only one answer: of course they will. They will remain in it as long Poland remains independent and socialist. Never and to no one will we yield even one square inch of that ancient Polish territory for which we paid our suffering and our blood. I think that in this age of many irresponsible ideas, such as "rejection" of Yalta or "forgetting" about Potsdam, this truth should be stressed yet again most emphatically.

This time we are neither defenseless nor alone. The Polish soldier stands guard over the inviolability of our territory and the security of our state and our nation. The lasting nature of these borders is safeguarded by the indestructible political and defensive alliance between our country and the Soviet Union, along with other countries of the Warsaw Treaty and the German Democratic Republic, the latter having definitively recognized the border we share with it.

It is, however, difficult to deny that there are now more causes for concern than there were, say, 15 years ago. Certain centers and forces, both in Europe and worldwide, which more or less openly dispute Europe's postwar borders have become active again.

Some politicians are openly striving to revive the so-called German issue in political, legal, and historical terms. Efforts at resurrecting the idea of the "provisional nature" of the territorial and political status quo in Europe; Pan-Germanic reunification formulas; the attempt to internationalize the question of the alleged German minority in our country: All these run counter to Poland's national and state interest and put those who are hoping to be able to falsify the genesis, the course, and the outcome of World War II in the worst possible light. At the same time it poses a potential threat of destabilization on a wider, all-European scale. This should be clear not just to the Polish people.

The topicality of the words spoken by Wladyslaw Gomulka in Wroclaw at the 9 May 1970 gala meeting commemorating the 25th anniversary of the end of World War II remains indisputable today: "Those who refuse to accept the territorial and political status quo in Europe, or the final nature of the placing of Poland's western border on the Odra and Nysa Luzycka rivers, or the irrevocable reality of the existence of the two sovereign and equal German states: Those who regard all these questions as open and constituting a merely temporary state of affairs must, in practical terms, be considering the possibility of another war."

We do not intend to threaten anyone. But neither will we allow anyone to threaten us. All speculation on the possibility of using the difficulties currently suffered by Poland to push us to a position of marginal importance in European politics is simply naive.

Every true Pole has a moral and patriotic obligation to oppose those anti-Polish tendencies and to strengthen the real foundations of national security. Our Polish state can only provide effective guarantees of our sovereignty and of the inviolability of our borders if it is itself stable and strong owing to its citizens standing in unanimous agreement on all matters of supreme consequence, if it can boast a strong and healthy economy and reliable allies.

[Mystkowska] I do a lot of traveling in this part of the country, and I see that much has been done, also in the most recent years, in the way of development and assimilation of these territories. New enterprises have been created. People are building splendid new houses to live in. I know a rich American of Polish extraction who has returned to Poland and settled not far from Zielona Gora. All this seems to confirm that people look at these territories in terms not only of their own future but also that of their children's and grandchildren's. What, then, is the position of the regained territories in terms of Poland's future?

[Jaruzelski] They are an integral part of the PPR constituting nearly one-third of the country's area. They are in every aspect territories of key significance for our nation. It was so 40 years ago, and it is so today. In the future, the role played by these lands will be even more significant.

In 1945, when we were taking them over, the territories situated on the Odra and Nysa Rivers and bordering the Baltic presented a picture of utter devastation. It was not as if we were entering a paradise: What we found was dead and scorched earth from which the war had taken its terrible, cruel toll. More than 78 percent of arable land was lying idle, and most of it had been mined. About 73 percent of the industrial manufacturing and power-generating facilities had been either partly damaged or destroyed. More than 95 percent of the livestock had been slaughtered or taken away. As far as any cultural, educational, or academic life was concerned, the place was simply a vast wilderness. I remember well, in the final weeks of the war, piles of books which had been reduced to ashes, historic buildings turned to rubble by mortar fire, and bridges destroyed by the retreating Wehrmacht forces.

When, in the summer of 1945, Europe's postwar borders were being decided, few optimists believed that we would be able to rebuild and recultivate the western and northern territories. In the West, there was no shortage of politicians who protested against the "fattening of the Polish goose." The selfish hopes of international capital, which had many interests vested in these lands, went hand in hand with contemptuous disbelief in our nation's vital force, its self-sacrificing generosity, and its people's readiness to work hard as masters and managers of their own land. It was not for the first time, nor the last.

I belong to a generation which witnessed the birth of new, Polish life on these territories. As a frontline officer I traversed every kilometer between the Notec and the Odra. I took part in the battles for the penetration of the Pomeranian line. To your generation today that line is only a series of dilapidated bunkers. But so many of my comrades-in-arms lost their lives there. We honor their memory. They also wanted to live in a free Poland, in the Piast territories that constituted their rightful heritage. I preserve warmest memories of our Soviet comrades-in-arms, the young boys from Rostov or Tula, who fell on our soil within only months, or weeks, of the end of the war.

I remember years during which volleys of gunfire resounded every night in the thickets and the rubble of the ruined towns and cities of our westernmost territories. Years later again, when I commanded a division in Szczecin, I witnessed the tremendous advancement of the whole Western Pomerania. I remember Zielona Gora, too. When I revisited it last year, I was greatly impressed by the beauty and the inimitable charm of your city.

I hope people will understand all these reminiscences. To many millions of Poles such as myself our western and northern territories are not a mere geographical concept. They have played a tremendously important part in our lives, our youthful dreams, and our joint effort.

Today it would be simply inconceivable to picture a Poland without Jelenia Gora and Swinoujscie, without Olsztyn and Legnica, without Koszalin and Zgorzelec.

Just as in the past ages the Wild Lands [Dzikie Pola, old Polish term for Zaporozhye, cradle of 17-century anti-Polish uprisings in the Ukraine] became the beginning of the end of the old Polish Republic, so in our days the regained territories became an instrumental factor in the new unification of our nation, a melting-pot in which the patriotic feelings of our nation were gradually tempered to a quality demanded for the second half of the 20th century.

[Mystkowksa] I find it perfectly understandable. All the same, with the war 42 years behind us, should we not stop calling these regions regained territories? They are, after all, as Polish as the Suwalki District, or the Subcarpathia. I think we should just use their geographical names when we speak about them.

[Jaruzelski] I agree that that to the younger generation this terms sounds slightly outdated today. In any case, we hear it less and less often. It may be that your son and his contemporaries will stop using it altogether. That would be a logical and natural thing to do. They are being brought up in totally different circumstances, in a new situation. They take it for granted that these regions are Polish.

However, the concept of the "regained territories" is educationally important. Young Poles, their children, and their grandchildren must preserve the sense of their roots, of those bonds which link the present with the ever-receding past and which allow them to draw their lessons from it. If a nation is to survive, it must continue to preserve a continuity of historical self-awareness.

[Mystkowska] Until recently we were experiencing a regression in certain areas of cooperation between the PPR and the FRG. You, General, even spoke of "lost time" in Polish-German relations. How will the cooperation between the two countries proceed now, after Helmut Kohl has been elected again as Chancellor of the FRG and in the light of his recent government declaration in the Bundestag? The West German Chancellor spoke in favor of continued agreement with the Polish nation.

[Jaruzelski] Over the past 2 years there has been some progress in the relations between our country and the FRG. I would hesitate to overestimate it, but it would be a mistake to ignore the signs of what we might call some forward movement.

As yet, however, one cannot speak of a positive balance in either the economic or the political field. Nationalist right-wing trends of an overtly revanchist nature have increased in the FRG of late -- particularly on the eve of the recent elections to the Bundestag -- and that makes us extra careful in the choice of words when we assess the state of our mutual relations. "The existence of the Reich within its 1937 borders" can attract no Pole to even the most finely worded declarations.

Experience has taught us to be cautious about statements made by certain Bonn politicians. Sometimes one can almost imagine one is listening to an orchestra tuning its instruments before a concert. One hears a collection of different notes in what appears to be a disorderly jumble, and yet -- depending on the composer -- the same notes will eventually combine to form a cohesive and fully logical composition. We have a sharp ear for a number of different tunes, for reasons which are obvious.

We watch the West German political scene very closely. We appreciate every manifestation of realistic thinking, every fact which testifies to a willingness for reconciliation between nations and consolidation of the foundations of peace on our continent. But we watch all signs and trends which do not promote agreement equally closely.

You referred to Chancellor Kohl's latest government declaration. It is true that it speaks of continuing the path of agreement with the Polish nation and of bringing young people of both our countries closer together. It cites the existing binding treaties as well as the CSCE Final Act as the foundations of our mutual relations. This is, of course, correct. But it is facts rather than words that count above all else in politics. The politico-legal state doctrine of the FRG, which is revanchist in its essence and which contains a proposition of the so-called open nature of the German question and a reservation stipulating a final settlement of the issue of state borders by a peace treaty, remains in force. How can it be reconciled with the Helsinki agreement?

For many years Poland has consistently declared its constructive willingness for a full normalization and development of friendly relations with the FRG. Today I reaffirm this stand most emphatically yet again. We do not want to protract endlessly, from one generation to the next, our claims to compensation for the years of Nazi crimes.

A sincere desire for a firm turn in our mutual relations underlies our policy toward Bonn. The fruitful development of tried and tested friendship and wide-ranging cooperation with our western neighbor, the GDR, demonstrate that such a turn is attainable and that a lasting agreement between Poles and Germans can become a reality. If we are to attain it, however, we need the goodwill and perseverance of both sides.

In the age of profound and all-embracing transformations in the socialist world, in the course of the peace drive initiated by the Soviet Union and the entire community of the socialist countries, entirely new prospects are opening up not only for the overall East-West relations but also in the process of building a new identity for our European corner of the world. None of us Europeans can afford to waste such a favorable opportunity. It might not be repeated.

Today it should be obvious to everyone that there is no such thing as an "open German question." On the other hand, the question of fostering a sense of all-European unity on our continent, with all the variety of its existing systems, is certainly still open today.

The need to think in new terms is slowly gaining ground. It is simply something that we have to learn.

[Mystkowska] Thank you for talking to me.

BRIEFS

PROTOCOL WITH USSR -- A protocol on the agreement between the governments of Poland and the Soviet Union on cooperation linked to the further improvement of the technical servicing of machines and equipment and apparatus provided within a mutual trade exchange during 1987-90 was signed in the Ministry of Foreign Trade. [Excerpt] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 24 Apr 87 LD]

CEAUSESCU CHAIRS STATE COUNCIL MEETING 27 APR

AU271826 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1810 GMT 27 Apr 87

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 27/4/1987 -- Monday, April 27, a meeting of the State Council was held under the chairmanship of the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The State Council examined and ratified: Programme-agreement on Long-Term Development of Economic and Technical cooperation and of commercial exchanges between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Zaire, signed at Kinshasa on April 1, 1987; the Accord on Economic, Technical and Scientific cooperation between the Romanian Government and the Government of India, signed in New Delhi on March 10, 1987; Programme-Agreement on Long-Term Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation Between the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh signed in Dhaka on March 13, 1987.

The State Council discussed and approved a report on the surveys made in 1986 by the Standing Commissions of the Grand National Assembly, as empowered by the State Council, of the way in which some ministries and other central bodies implement the party policy and ensure the application of laws in their fields of activity.

During the meeting President Nicolae Ceausescu demanded the ministries, the other central bodies, the units they subordinate to take firm action for the proper fulfillment of plan provisions, the rigorous application and observance of party resolutions and the country's laws.

During the meeting the State Council also examined and approved a report on the activity of the Procurator's Office of Romania in 1986 and on the activity the Supreme Court carried out in 1986.

President Nicolae Ceausescu requested the justitiary bodies, the Procurator's Office and the Ministry of the Interior to intensify their activity of preventing violations and explaining the laws of the country, with a view to fighting antisocial crimes and strengthen socialist legality.

He also requested the press bodies, the radio and television, all mass media to make a growing contribution to educating the masses of working people in the spirit of observing the laws and rules of social coexistence, for the promotion of the norms of socialist ethics and equity.

The meeting debated and approved a report of the Commission for the Control of the Activity of Handling the Proposals, Intimations, Complaints and Applications the working people advanced to the State Council in 1986 and a Report of the Council of Ministers on the Handling of Proposals, Intimations, Complaints and Applications working people advanced to the central state administration in 1986.

CEAUSESCU ATTENDS GNA SESSION OPENING 28 APR

AU281128 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 28 Apr 87

[Text] The proceedings of the fifth session of the ninth legislature of the Grand National Assembly [GNA] opened this morning in Bucharest.

The arrival in the conference hall of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and of Comrade Elena Ceausescu was welcomed with loud cheers by the deputies and guests. The decisive contribution made by the RCP secretary general and president of the Republic in drafting and implementing our party and state policy and in unflinchingly fulfilling the 13th RCP Congress decisions was highly valued.

The following agenda was unanimously adopted by the deputies for the new session of the high legislative forum of the country:

1. The validation of the election of a deputy in the GNA;

2. The Report of the Council of Ministers on fulfillment of the uniform national plan for the country's socioeconomic development in the first quarter of 1987 and on measures taken to ensure the complete fulfillment of the 1987 plan provisions and to strengthen the role of the industrial-economic central departments as basic economic units which operate on the principles of economic, financial self-management and self-administration;

3. The draft bill on modifying and completing Law No 59/1968 regarding the trial commissions;

4. The draft bill on modifying and completing 71/1969 on economic contracts;

5. The draft bills on endorsement of the decrees which include norms with power of law issued by the State Council following the fourth session of the GNA;

As the first point on the agenda, the supreme forum of the state power validated the election of Comrade Ion Constantinescu as a GNA deputy.

The plenum of deputies was then presented with the report of the Council of Ministers on fulfillment of the uniform national plan for the country's socioeconomic development in the first quarter of 1987 and on measures to completely fulfill the 1987 plans and to strengthen the role of industrial-economic central departments as basic economic units, which operate on the principles of economic and financial self-management and self-administration.

The document was presented by Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the government.

Up to the time of this broadcast, Deputies Ion Folea, Steliana Isodorescu, and Marin Enache had participated in the discussions on the report.

The government report and the deputies' statements stressed the firm actions that were taken and the significant results that were attained by working people in all fields of activity in implementing Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's recommendations and orientations regarding fulfillment of the tasks set forth by the 13th RCP Congress. Particular emphasis was placed on the decisive role played by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in drafting and implementing the economic policy of the country and his great dynamizing force for appropriately fulfilling the strategic objective of the current 5-year-plan period -- that is, Socialist Romania's transition to a qualitatively superior level of development.

The issues submitted to the GNA for debate reflect the consistent concern of the party and state leadership and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu with the unflinching fulfillment of the plans and programs to ensure our homeland's many-sided development.

The government report and the deputies' statements thoroughly examined the actions that had been taken, the results attained, and some shortfalls that were manifested. Within this framework the speakers expressed their determination to work in the way the party and state leader requested to perfect labor organization, increase order and discipline, and develop the revolutionary spirit of responsibility, so that each person will fulfill his task in an exemplary way.

The measures adopted and applied to eliminate shortfalls and ensure proper conditions for the implementation of the objectives of the uniform national plan for the country's socioeconomic development were reiterated.

Likewise, the speakers voiced their complete adherence to the actions taken by Socialist Romania and its president, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, for disarmament, to safeguard peace, to promote a spirit of international cooperation, to find solutions to all problems by peaceful means, solely through negotiations, and to defend the right of all nations to a free and dignified existence.

Session Ends; Documents Adopted

AU281728 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 28 Apr 87

[Text] The first part of the fifth session of the ninth legislature of the Grand National Assembly [GNA] ended in plenum a short time ago.

The GNA adopted a decision in connection with the report by the Council of Ministers on fulfillment of the uniform national plan for the country's socioeconomic development in the first quarter of 1987 and on measures taken to ensure the complete fulfillment of the 1987 plan provisions and to strengthen the role of economic central departments as basic units in the economy operating on the principle of economic and financial self-management and self-administration.

The GNA appealed to all working people in industry and agriculture and to all our people to make all necessary efforts to fulfill the plan indicators and export tasks under the best of conditions, and to achieve increased yields this year and the best of results throughout the socioeconomic activity.

The country's supreme legislative forum expressed the conviction that all our people will act with great responsibility to ensure fulfillment to the letter of the tasks devolving on all sectors of activity and to create increasingly better conditions to implement all targets stipulated in the 1987 state plan and in the overall 5-year plan.

The GNA extended to all working people's collectives in industry, agriculture, and all sectors of activity warmest congratulations on May Day, the day of the working people, as well as wishes for successes in all their activities.

Also this afternoon, after the conclusions of general debates and the discussions of articles, the GNA unanimously adopted the law on modifying and completing Law No 59/1968 regarding the trial commissions.

At the end of the proceedings, the GNA chairman announced that the other draft bills on the agenda will be examined and endorsed by the permanent specialized commissions, after which they will be submitted to the GNA for discussions within a future meeting of the current session; the date of the resumption of proceedings in plenum will be announced in due course.

SUVAR DISCUSSES 'SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT'

LD240846 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1858 GMT 23 Apr 87

[Text] Belgrade, April 23 (TANJUG) -- The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) must demonstrate its ability to effect renewed mobilization of the working class and all progressive forces of society through new and fresh initiatives and by reckoning with the ossified practice, assessed LCY Central Committee Presidency member Stipe Suvar in a talk with TANJUG journalists.

Speaking on the so-called ideological plenum of the LCY, scheduled for April 28, Suvar said it was necessary to mobilize all the forces of society toward clearing the way for socialist development.

The plenum will consider the tasks of Yugoslav Communists in the ideological struggle for further development of socialist self-management and socialist democracy.

The LCY, Suvar warned, especially after the death of President Josip Broz Tito in 1980, did not resolutely enough oppose petit bourgeois views and illusions about the supraclass nature of democracy. As Suvar set out, the LCY did not oppose opportunistic and liberalistic attitudes toward, above all, the increasingly aggressive actions of anti-socialist and anti-communist forces and tendencies.

Suvar pointed to threats coming from chauvinist-orientated individuals and groups which undermine fundamental constitutional freedoms and the rights of members of some of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities -- incidents ranging from nationalistic exclusivism and pressures in terms of language, to pressures on Serbs and Montengrins to move out of Kosovo so as to create an Albanian ethnically pure province.

In such conditions, Suvar assessed, pressure leading to the suspension of socialist self-management democracy is mounting. Pressure exists directed at the strengthening and leading role of the party and all elements of the one-party system. At the same time, pressure has also appeared aimed at introducing political pluralism and multi-party system in Yugoslavia. Both types of pressure, as Suvar assessed, are a reflection of growing dogmatic-bureaucratic tendencies in the Yugoslav political system.

A stagnation in the development of socialist self-management, as Suvar set out, has also contributed to narrowing the frameworks of true democracy and has created more room for liberalistic types of freedoms and democracy.

Suvar considers that the main source and the principal of liberalism in Yugoslavia are techno-bureaucratic circles which are ready to accept and tolerate everything that is verbal freedom providing that they hold the key position in decision-making.

In developing socialist democracy, Yugoslavia must also struggle towards the development of socialist public opinion, Suvar considers. All crucial historical moments in Yugoslavia confirm that democratization is not possible without the public, while the democratization of the LCY is impossible without the LCY's opening within organisations and towards the political system as a whole, to all working people and citizens, Suvar stressed.

Suvar also considers that without the public there can be no new impetus to socialist self-management in Yugoslavia. The public in Yugoslavia must become an instrument of social revolution and a key factor in achieving the much demanded responsibility, Suvar told TANJUG journalists.

RENOVICA VIEWS 'BIG CHALLENGES' FACING LCY

LD271952 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1345 GMT 27 Apr 87

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Apr (TANJUG) -- The present juncture calls for greater mobilization of the Communists who are expected to "get to their feet," provide an example of initiative and work, and become united in their determination to implement the declared policy in line with their historical responsibility and the LC's vanguard role in society. By doing this confidence in them will be heightened and their reputation and influence enhanced, Milanko Renovica, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium said in an interview to be published in the next issue of KOMUNIST.

The LC's unity of ideology and action is not something to be taken for granted. It must be constantly developed and promoted through concrete activity, particularly at the current complex juncture at the time of big challenges, Renovica stressed.

In his view, the LC's activity since the 13th LCY Congress has generally been more militant and organized, and directed toward the vital strategic issues of stabilization in the economic life, the creation of conditions in which economic laws could operate, and the consistent development of self-management. However, he continued, we must abandon the practice of constantly describing and explaining the situation in society and get down to implementing the established tasks.

Stressing that the working class within the LC was a prerequisite for consolidating interparty democracy and ensuring the working class' decisive influence on social trends, the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium said that an analysis was necessary in order to establish why the number of workers joing the LC was declining while they were in the majority among those leaving the party's ranks. Noting that last year workers made up one third of the entire LC membership, Renovica went on to stress that, as regards the structure of the membership, there had for some time been a discrepancy between the commitments and the real situation which, he explained, was due to mounting socioeconomic problems, the halt in the development of self-management, and even the LC's inadequate ideopolitical activity.

Asked about the LC's methodology, Renovica emphasized the need for abandoning the practice whereby stage in the LC's activity is concluded by broad debates at sessions or by adopting generalized conclusions. Even more so because it is not rare that unanimously adopted conclusions fail to provide a sufficient basis for concerted action by the LC organs and organizations. If the LC is to consistently realize its leading ideopolitical role in society, it must transfer the fulcrum of its activity to the basic LC organizations and among its grassroots instead of restricting its work within forums, Renovica warned.

The fact is that in real life there exist differing and partial interests and it would be absurd to deny their existence. Differing interests within the LC and its sections may give rise or have already led to differences or even deviations in the way the LC policy is implemented as a result of the lack of coordination, opportunism and even ideological vacillations. Under such circumstances, the LCY Central Committee has a duty to consider all the issues of interest for implementing the declared policy, Renovica said, adding that it would not be out of the ordinary if the LCY Central Committee was to initiate a debate about those LC organizations and organs that fail to implement the declared policy.

Renovica noted that there always existed reasons and the need for the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium to jointly discuss the ideopolitical aspects of the social and economic situation and the LC's activity in any specific environment and that it would be bad to wait for conflicting situations or serious misunderstandings to happen before this is done.

CULAFIC ASSESSES COUNTRY'S SECURITY SITUATION

AU281034 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11-12 Apr 87 p 1

[Text] Niksic, 10 Apr (TANJUG) -- Dobroslav Culafic, member of the FEC and federal secretary for internal affairs, and Lazar Djodjic, secretary of internal affairs of Montenegro, today visited Niksic. Dobroslav Culafic spoke to the Niksic political aktiv about topical questions regarding the political and security situation.

Speaking about what the LC and other organized socialist forces should do to overcome accumulated social problems, Culafic broached the methods of opposing some negative phenomena and tendencies in society. He particularly stressed that, regardless of the complexity of the conditions in which we lived and worked last year and in the first months of this year, we can be satisfied with the state of the country's security as a whole. This is confirmed by the fact that we did not encounter any phenomena that would significantly affect public order and peace, and the safety of citizens.

Yugoslavia's reputation as one of the safest countries has been preserved.

The federal secretary stressed that those who are most vociferous and aggressive at present are individuals and groups of individuals working from the positions of the bourgeois right, but that other hostile forces are not silent either. The essence of their actions is to call everything in Yugoslavia into question, to spread disorientation, perplexities, to incite intranational conflicts, and to question the basic values of our society and revolutionary achievements. The struggle against them and the activities and political platforms of individuals and groups of individuals who act from the positions of the bourgeois right is primarily a question of an ideological struggle.

Referring to the growing nationalism. Culafic spoke about very frequent occurrences of nationalism among young people, for which cleronationalists are responsible to a great extent. He also stressed that opposing Albanian nationalism continues to be a question, which requires the appropriate involvement of all socialist forces, particularly the progressive forces of Kosovo.

Among other things, Dobroslav Culafic also said that, from a security point of view, we are facing the process of moral erosion in society. Particularly worrying is the attitude toward socially owned property. The number of cases of theft, embezzlement, pilfering, bribery and corruption, illegal accumulation of wealth, and other forms of attacks on socially owned property require urgent measures and fundamental changes in the attitudes of those most responsible for fighting such phenomena. In 1986 the organs of internal affairs uncovered and filed criminal charges against 28,704 criminal acts. Direct material damage amounted to more than 32 billion dinars which, despite inflation, is considerably more than the material damage incurred in 1985.

Dobroslav Culafic then said that in 1986 among those against for whom there was a founded suspicion that they had committed criminal offenses of an economic nature, there were 3,562 recidivists. This means that an unacceptable cadre policy which enables some individuals to manage socially owned property again and thus commit the same or similar criminal acts is still present, said Dobroslav Culafic.

ZARKOVIC SPEAKS ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

LD281400 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0006 GMT 28 Apr 87

[Text] Belgrade, April 27 (TANJUG) -- The State Presidency of Yugoslavia has not "shut down" the discussion on the contents and volume of the forthcoming amendments to the Constitution -- A political gathering in Belgrade today was tody by Vidoje Zarkovic, member of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY).

In stressing that in this respect there were no longer any "taboo subject matters," Zarkovic warned that what could not be changed were only the Constitution's basic principles which were ensuing from the achievements of Yugoslavia's socialist revolution.

Zarkovic said that the suggested changes in relations within the federation did not mean any return to federal centralism, but they should contribute to a more successful materialization of the essence of the constitutional concept of the Yugoslav Federation.

Referring to the possible difficulties in the interpretation of concrete provisions of the Yugoslav Constitution, especially as regards the relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia in the composition of which there are the two autonomous socialist provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo -- Vidoje Zarkovic signalled the possibility of having better and fuller constitutional stipulations defined for the purpose of straightening out their mutual relations. This is what would be done, said Zarkovic, in case that concrete provisions of the Constitution were interpreted so as to have Serbia reduced to an "area proper" and the provinces equalled with this republic.

Speaking about changes in the electoral system, Zarkovic viewed that the immediate elections of delegates were not contradicting the essence of the Yugoslav delegate system, and could contribute to the fuller materialization of its essence. He also said that all the arguments which indicated the advantages of the immediate elections should be analyzed carefully.

BORBA REJECTS 'PARTY CLEANSING' AS 'CHEAP'

AU281441 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Apr 87 p 2

[Momcilo Djorgovic commentary: "Torrents With No Return"]

[Excerpts] "Cleansing," "party cleansing" are among the words that we (mis)use, without thinking about their significance or about all the possible connotations they may have in certain circumstances.

It is not disputable that the LC -- through an ideopolitical differentiation on the front where an offensive "for" something is conducted -- must now part company with all those who compromise it, but a "party cleansing" under our present conditions cannot be a magic formula that would solve all our problems.

How has this repressive notion strayed to modern communists of a democratic persuasion? An archeological intervention, even if it were completely lay, would lead us into a religion, say Christianity, in which there is no hell and no paradise without a purgatory. [passage omitted]

The LCY Statute never mentions a "cleansing" nor any other allusion to any form of political enema. There is no provision to limit the enrollment in the LC, for it is not meant to be a cadre party, and so no mass expulsions are envisaged. Of course, the Statute refers to "collective responsibility," (Article 49), but not in such a way as to sanction directed and widespread hunting of scoundrels in general at all party levels and organs. [passage omitted]

There are some advocates of "cleansing" who want to solve everything in a rush, like a torrent with no return, which is untenable even when the most progressive aims are involved. The Statute, however, prescribes a gradual approach in punishing members (caution, warning, warning before expulsion, and expulsion, without any cleansing) as well as "an examination of the general educational influence of the ideopolitical measures handed down and their cancellation when they have achieved their ideopolitical aim." One cannot feel here any blindness of religious wars, nor any irrevocability of police investigations, for it is not supposed that the LC is a group of sectarians or of criminals damned in all eternity.

Shall we in the LC now, in our belief of sin because of the crisis and bureaucratization of society, resort to "cleansing" (any cleansing in Russian and in the language of history is a purge, and there is no "cleansing without a purge") and thus shake off our guilt in a rather cheap and retrograde way? Would this not mean clouding the essence of the problem and confusing the causes and consequences, so that we allegedly are in this state of affairs because of the inappropriate composition of party membership.

In every movement or party, including the LC, as well as in life in general, there are tares, but the problem is not how and with whose help they become dominant and what it is in society that increases their number (for it is assumed that nobody is born evil). This means that the causes for the inefficiency of the party should be sought in wider socioeconomic circumstances, in the content and the effect of leading decisions and the ways of managing social property, and in the organization of the party, its cadre policy, and the way in which party and social aims are formed and implemented. [passage omitted]

Why then the call to "cleansing?" Is it not a substitute for incompetence, or for a lack of will, to change the social situation more thoroughly? Proper action is supplanted by moralistic dramatization and assurances that rascals are to be blamed for everything, and that the only thing that matters is that those who are pure should remain in the party. Don't these assurances conceal a will to power? A special question (a question of Marx' theses on Feuerbach) is who will educate the educator, or rather who will make the decision about the vagabonds and the true believers. [passage omitted]

M. DJILAS INTERVIEWED ON ECONOMIC, POLITICAL PROBLEMS

PM281106 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 19-20 Apr 87 p 8, AVANTI! DELLA DOMENICA Supplement

[Interview with dissident Milovan Djilas by Libero Lizzadri in Rome; date not given]

[Text] [Lizzadri] In your opinion, what are the causes of Yugoslavia's economic crisis?

[Djilas] The main cause of the Yugoslav economic crisis lies in the political system. Not only is the Constitution obsolete, albeit fairly recent, but the political system as such does not work. The fact is that the monopoly of a single party -- from Belgrade to Beijing -- does not permit other vigorous forces within society from asserting themselves and making their contribution to the common cause. So this crisis has a political basis.

Of course there are some purely economic causes -- errors in the country's industrialization, such as the creation of industries without a national basis in raw materials. Furthermore there is no agricultural policy, because once the phase of Soviet-Style agricultural collectivization had come to a rapid and unsatisfactory end, individual farmers were left to themselves, as though they were on another planet, without any involvement by the state; but agricultural cooperatives are bureaucratic bodies, so the peasants are not interested in them. Furthermore, in the economic sector cadres are selected according to ideological, not qualitative, criteria: Communist party members have a monopoly -- by right one could say -- on the various levels of leadership posts in the economy, such as in the state apparatus.

Moreover it was once falsely believed that by modernizing its industrial apparatus Yugoslavia could enter the world market, and especially the European market. Many -- too many -- foreign debts were incurred, but productivity remained low until complete bankruptcy was reached. Now the Yugoslav state owes foreign banks approximately $20 billion. Its internal debts total over $20 billion (this is an estimate, because there are no official figures.). Even the revenue in currency from emigres and tourism has been squandered. Of course the government cannot repay the internal debt at once, but it is nevertheless a debt, and this situation ultimately acts as a curb on development and economic reform. Obviously the economic difficulties affect the political situation and exacerbate it, and the worsening political situation in turn has a negative influence on the economic situation.

[Lizzadri] To what extent can one talk in term of a political crisis?

[Djilas] The country is divided between republican bureaucracies. Tito, with his strength, succeeded in maintaining the country's unity, but ever since his death there has been no strong center: In fact during his lifetime he represented the only centralized institution. Together with Kardelj, he conceived the new Constitution to avert nationalistic thrusts and assumed all the Croatians' ideas about national autonomies. Perhaps deep down there may have been the personal ambition for no other strong leader to emerge after him. He believed that rotation in site and party posts was enough to prevent the emergence of individual national thrusts. But on the contrary, this system made it impossible for a government, a central administration, to work and above all to protect the autonomies. After his death no strong leader capable of performing a real and effective role emerged. Thus the republican state leaderships and republican party oligarchies grew stronger, so it can now be said that in Yugolavia today there is ony one kind of pluralism -- that of the communist parties, of the communist oligarchies. Each of these parties, the oligarchies, wants to defend its own power, to be stronger than the other republican parties and oligarchies. Power is the essence of communism and in view of Yugoslavia's situation this gives rise to fears of a gradual dissolution of the state.

Furthermore the republics have had from the outset their own different political, cultural, economic, religious, and traditional sutuations. It so happens for instance, that the Serbian Federal Republic, which includes the Albanian autonomous province of Kosovo, does not even have the ability, the legal means, to intervene in Kosovo. Moreover the other federal republics do not want the Serbs to become stronger. Also, the Serbs live not only in Serbia and the autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina that are part of Serbia but in the other federal republics as well. Therefore, in view of the lack of real central power, they feel they are in a difficult position: For instance, if Croatia were to separate from Yugoslavia or Bosnia were to become an Islamic republic, who would protect the Serbs? But the same applies to the Croatians, many of whom live in Bosnia and Vojvodina.

This situation has caused dissatisfaction among the Serbs, so the authorities allow the expression of nationalistic feelings, especially among Serbian intellectuals. There are signs of dissatisfaction in Slovenia, too. Although it is the wealthiest republic, the Slovenes feel they are in an unfavorable situation. Indeed, since they are wealthy, they help -- are obliged to help -- the poorer republics such as Bosnia, Montenegro, Kosovo, and Macedonia. But these republics spend the money unwisely and instead of strengthening their economic structures strengthen their bureaucratic structures. Therefore the Slovenes, both government and intellectuals, turn to nationalism. It is symptomatic that the Slovenian leadership officially tolerates displays of nationalism. For their part, the Serbs say they are against it but ultimately protect themselves by saying: We do not agree with this but we cannot repress it. In other words, the Serbs are tougher than the Slovenes in their opposition to displays of nationalism, but not even they have arrested anyone. In Croatia, however, Titoist dogmatism blocks any display of nationalism. Then in Bosnia there is an outright police regime under party control.

So in Yugoslavia we are witnessing the emergence of different "regimes": Apart from the forms of bureaucratic, oligarchical pluralism, a form of political pluralism is emerging, though for the present it lacks any clearly defined platforms.

[Lizzadri] What is the role of self-management, partly with a view to resolving the crisis?

[Djilas] Self-management performs no role in the country except as a utopia, as a means of propagating party propaganda about the individual nature of the Yugoslav path; but it has no influence at the state level. At first, of course, it did have some kind of positive role because it represented a weakening of the Stalinist model and diminished the weight of bureaucracy. Self-management is linked to the Yugoslav attempt to bring about a transition in the country's economy from a Stalinist-type rigidity to an economy that includes market factors. In reality this has been only half achieved.

Be that as it may, the role of self-management is now very limited. Consider the stance of the self-management system on strikes: It has declared itself completely opposed to strikes. Of course at the lower levels, in the enterprises, it may serve some purpose in curbing bureaucracy. But it must not be overestimated. A recent Gallop Poll conducted in a number of Belgrade factories revealed that the workers are not interested in self-management: We are simply called on to approve decisions made elsewhere, the majority said.

[Lizzadri] After so many years, is it possible now to form a dispassionate historical assessment of Tito?

[Djilas] My assessment of Tito has not changed. He was a very talented an capable politician in the struggle to gain and maintain power. He performed a positive role in the revolution. It is possible to argue about whether or not the revolution was a good thing -- I believe it was -- but in any case it resolved many of the issues left unresolved by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Of course the revolution did not resolve everything, it did not resolve the revolutionaries' ideological problems but this is normal: Perhaps they could not be resolved. At that time Tito was a capable, energetic, and convinced leader. His conflict with Stalin was his greatest success, the apex of his activity. At that time the situation was difficult and heavy-handed methods inevitable, but Tito did not behave brutally, like other communist leaders such as Stalin and Enver Hoxha. Be that as it may, even in this struggle he strengthened his own personal position more and more. He was certainly a statesman of considerable stature, though, for instance, he did not understand, had no interest in, legal matters, which is why Yugoslavia is in a chaotic legal situation. Nor did he understand much about economic matters. He was a real leader but always too concerned with his personal power: He identified this power of his too closely with the state. He will maintain an important place in history, even though his prestige is declining in Yugoslavia, especially among young people, despite the leadership's constant attempt to revive it.

[Lizzadri] Why have you been ostracized for decades, despite the fact that Yugoslavia has more "liberal" characteristics than other eastern bloc countries?

[Djilas] The liberalization in Yugoslavia -- a certain degree of liberalization compared to the other East European countries -- came after the break with the USSR, and it would have been strange to maintain the same methods that the USSR used to stifle the East European countries' aspirations. Therefore a slightly more liberal approach emerged from the critique of the USSR and Stalinism, albeit in differing degrees in the various federal and autonomous republics. [paragraph continues]

Why did Tito always fight me? For reasons of prestige, I believe. Without false modesty, I believe that my ideas could have influenced the party -- especially the leadership and intellectuals, but also the party as a whole. Tito was afraid of this, and to scare the leadership, sent me to prison using the worst slanders against me. Subsequently the campaign of slanders continued, but I was free: I published books abroad, though never in Yugoslavia. The present leadership continues the same policy, though the press now rarely takes issue with me and also adopts a slightly less harsh tone. Furthermore when historical events are discussed now I am cited objectively, without the addition of slanders. In any case the majority of Yugoslav Communists are dissatisfied. Those in power do not know what to do, what decisions to make, even with regard to me. There is no talk of publishing my works. I recently sent a Belgrade publishing house a literary manuscript -- nothing political -- for publication. I have not yet received a reply: Who knows? I was permitted to pay this visit abroad. Even Sakharov's release from exile certainly served some purpose.

[Lizzadri] What is your opinion of the Gorbachev "phenomenon"?

[Djilas] Gorbachev represents a new stage in the USSR's history, in the development of the Soviet system. However, I do not believe that there will be any profound changes. The basic problem is the the Soviet system is rotten, and it will become even more rotten despite Gorbachev. However, there is still some vitality within the CPSU, within its leadership group, because it is a class that has imperial positions and imperial ambitions and wants to maintain the privilege of this power. This contrasts with the decomposing system. Gorbachev will improve the system to one extent, modernize it, provide it with a more modern technological development, and grant more powers to the managerial class, but he has no intention of changing the system: He is not even considering it.

As far as the openness policy is concerned, let us not exaggerate: Of course there is greater freedom in the cultural world, because Gorbachev needs writers to reawaken the people's masses. He will manage to remain in power despite difficulties and opposition. But the greatest difficulties will come afterward, after the situation has improved, because then it will become apparent that the old system cannot withstand the impact with post-industrial society.

With regard to foreign policy, Gorbachev is undoubtedly displaying greater flexibility than his predecessors. He is particularly active in the disarmament field, but here the solution depends partly on the USSR's relations with the rest of the world: So far little has changed in relations with East Europe, Cuba, Vietnam, and so forth. Gorbachev is unlikely to make headway along the road to diarmament without changes in domestic policy.

The West must be strong but not aggressive in its dealing with Gorbachev -- that is, it must not be too enthusiastic about what is happening the USSR, but neither must it underestimate what is happening, since there are changes and there will be more of them. Some say that the USSR will be stronger after Gorbachev's reforms, but the West will be stronger, too, since life is not standing still in the West either.

REPORT SEES INTERVENTION LAW HINDERING HOUSING GROWTH

LD281104 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0855 GMT 28 Apr 87

[By Milenko Babic]

[Text] Belgrade, April 28 [TANJUG] -- To have a flat is one of the burning problems today in the world in which every third person is a homeless person. [paragraph continues]

Yugoslavia is no exception and its housing problem has now become even strained through its Federal Government's intervening laws.

The intervening laws are meant to make market conditions stronger in all fields of the national economy -- and this is necessary, but they have brought about difficulties in housing construction obviously neither foreseen nor expected.

The intervening laws of the end of February this year introduced a "commercialization" in all kinds of credits. Real interest rates, however, in crediting housing construction were not applied even under conditions of economic stability and, taking today's inflation of almost 100 percent in Yugoslavia into account, are causing not only big difficulties but maybe are even -- unrealizable.

Yugoslavia's housing troubles have become difficult also by reason of its stepped-up development after World War Two. For, one of the essential effects of its quick industrialization in the past forty years has been a mass migration from the countryside and into towns. Within the 1948-86 its urban population grew from somewhat more than three million up to even [word indistinct] million.

Logically, housing construction has grown into one of its not only social but also economic tasks.

In the 1953-84 period some 3,600,000 new flats were built in Yugoslavia. Its housing needs have never been satisfied, however, since they kept growing more quickly than housing construction all the time. This trouble has even come more to expression under the conditions of an economic crisis since 1980.

Yugoslavia's national economy being more and more broadened is less and less in a position to replenish its housing funds and, so, socially-owned flats are being built in lower and lower numbers. This has increased the importance of building privately-owned flats already built in higher numbers than privately-owned ones (in the 1953-84 period 2.3 million private flats were built in comparison with [figure indistinct] million social ones). [sentence as received]

The flat prices have been soaring (?wildly). In Belgrade, for instance, the contracted price for a square metre was something like 20,000 dinars in 1980 but is 300,000 dinars and more now.

Anyhow, the construction of private flats has been just slowed although not drastically in recent years since relatively easy credit terms were applied (practically, fixed interest rates regardless of inflation).

The repayment of housing credits never exceeding one-third of one's pay was becoming lighter and lighter with years passing just because of the rampant inflation.

Even such a so-so stimulation to housing construction was all but annuled in virtue of the intervening laws. If paying real interest rates fully or approximately covering the rising inflation, a prospective flat buyer would have to monthly repay a sum even several times higher than his monthly pay.

If the clauses of the intervening laws are applied in full, a drastic (?fall) in the building of not only private but also social flats -- if not a complete blockade -- can be expected. For, in Yugoslavia negligibly low is the number of people who can buy a flat for cash.

If the intervening laws of the Yugoslav Government are necessary, taken as a whole, for breathing more life into the market and economic activity as a whole, they are likely to take their hardest examination in the sphere of housing construction -- and this not only for social reasons.

'SPONTANEOUS' ISTRIAN COAL MINE STRIKE CONTINUES

AU281106 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Apr 87 p 12

[Z. Tarle report: "Labin Strike Goes On: Mostly 'Red Helmets' at Work"]

[Excerpts] Labin, 23 Apr -- The strike of the Labin miners who stopped work in the afternoon on 8 March has actually not yet ended. The majority of coal-face workers at the Rasa Coal Mines of Istria did not go to work, although many came to the pitheads, probably themselves expecting a denouncement of the marathon strike.

About 200 men went down to work in the Ripenda and Tupljak pits. However, the majority of them wore red helmets. This means that it was chiefly management and maintenance workers that went to work, and only a small number of coal-face workers went to regular work, the great majority of them LC members.

Although a large number of people gathered at the pitheads and had no intention of working, no incident was registered. [passage omitted]

The workers at the Labin Associated Labor Organization who did not intend to go down the pit, but did not prevent any worker who wanted to work from going down, this morning held a kind of improvised meeting at which they expressed dissatisfaction that none of the demands for which they stopped work had been fulfilled. To recall, on Friday the miners demanded that their pay should be increased 100 percent as of 1 January, that the mine management be replaced, and it should urgently be permitted that miners who live outside Istria should obtain housing loans. [passage omitted]

There was a similar situation at the Tupljak pithead, where miners who did not go to work stayed until about 0900. There were indeed some attempts to organize a meeting of workers, but they came to nothing, which probably again confirmed the thesis that this miners strike in Labin with all its characteristics has been and remains spontaneous and has no pronounced leaders or "gang leaders" to lead it. [passage omitted]

Mostar Miners Resume Work

AU281731 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 28 Apr 87

[Text] After a work stoppage that lasted 12 days, this morning the group of 28 miners went down into the pit construction site of the new (?Cin) mine located on the outskirts of Mostar hoping that their demands will be adopted through the regular self-managing procedure. The miners stopped work as they were discontented with their March personal incomes which had been reduced by one-third although their work results in that month had been 75 percent above the norm.

SERBIAN LC DEBATES 'IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE'

LD242011 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1028 GMT 23 Apr 87

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 Apr (TANJUG) -- No one has a monopoly over the truth. Truth is attained through democratic dialogue and creative clash of opinions, and with respect for objective scientific criteria, Radmila Andjelkovic [member of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee] stressed. She was the first to take the floor in the debate on the 2d day of the Serbian LC Central Committee's session, which had the LC's topical task of the ideological struggle for the development of socialist self-management as the main item on the agenda. Work on changes to the Constituion -- which is one of the key issues of the LC's action in the ideological sphere -- must not lead to new or revive the old divisions.

Whenever we decide to go into action, the confirmed enemies of all facets start raising their heads and feeding on our contradictions, problems, and weaknesses. They should be hampered by the force of argument in the ideological struggle and by changing the situation for the better. In this way we will prevent ideological dilemmas and confusion among the working people and citizens. I am stressing this, Radmila Andjelkovic said, because it seems to me that the crisis has existed far too long, old and new problems subbornly refuse to disappear, and there is no necessary ideopolitical unity -- which, due to well-known problems -- we in Serbia desparately need. The Serbian LC and its Central Committee have a duty to provide that unity in practice. The most important task for the Republic of Serbia and the Serbian LC is to make changes in the Republic's Constitution in order to facilitate a fuller and more consistent realization of the constitutional position of both the SR of Serbia and the provinces within it. These issues call for concerted efforts, serious argument, tolerance, and openness.

Irresponsible behavior, which has led to scientific, professional, and educational fraud, remains unpunished, Miomir Vukobratovic [not further identified] stressed. Lack of determination in implementing plans, scientific and technological programs, and reform in education has become an established practice despite the clearly defined goals of general character. [passage omitted]

In order to make the ideological struggle more successful and better organized, the LC must develop, to a greater extent, democratic dialogue within its own ranks about outstanding issues, and an atmosphere of argument-based discussion without labeling and nervousness, and, in particular, without factions, Dusan Kitevic [deputy director general of Belgrade radio and television] said.

While 4 decades ago Yugoslavia, with its ideological concepts and achievements, jumped at the head of the international workers' movement, Jurij Bajec [member of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee] said, now we are lagging, as if we have nothing to say. This is happening precisely at a time when many socialist countries are announcing significant changes. We are still richer for one big experience, he stressed, and therefore, as a country which as early as the 1950's introduced workers' self-management, we must show that this is the correct way toward a highly developed socialism, by affirming commodity production and respecting economic laws. [passage omitted]

It is confusing when at the height of demands for changes from the most responsible places in society, coded messages are sent -- "Let us not allow blows to the foundations of the AVNOJ" -- Rados Smiljkov said. It must be said who is hitting at them, so that it would be clear which are our joint aims in implementing changes. Let us not maintain the idea that we should not include the main principles of the Constitution. They should not be identified with the foundations of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ], Smiljkovic said, adding that no system succeeds if it does not start from unambiguous values.

In the situation of the greatest disintegration, he continued, in some republican and provincial centers the struggle against Yugoslav unitarism is given priority. Therefore, a normal person is asking whether at the time of a fire appeals should be made to organize a struggle against flood. [passage omitted]

The idea that a strong outbreak of etatism hinders self-management was the main point in the speech by Tihomir Tomicic from Eramika, in Mladenovac. In favor of saying openly -- which he did -- that such trends originated and are stimulated among leaderships. A break with etatism should start there, because really from that level, according to him, although appeals have been made to the working class since the 1950's to take on power, they have not yielded any results. [passage omitted]

The debate on the tasks of the LC in the ideological struggle for the development of socialist self-management was concluded by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium.

This plenum of the Serbian LC Central Committee, stressed the president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, is an important step in the direction of ideological unity in the Serbian LC and the LCY. It has been a powerful expression of the ability of the LC to carry out a critical examination of its attitude toward social problems, and also of weakness within its own ranks above all lack of unity, indecisiveness, and hesitation, and at the same time to formulate the tasks whose realization should more rapidly translate that unity into practice.

Noting that without the united front of the entire LCY in the ideological struggle there can be no unity of Yugoslavia as a socialist and federal community, Milosevic said that the plenum of the Serbian LC Central Committee provides real grounds for the belief that unity is strengthening. According to Milosevic, the crisis, which has lasted for several years, can only be ended if society and progressive forces, above all the LC, have a positive program for overcoming it. Within this, he said, changes in the sphere of economic relations are most important.

In this regard, the orientation toward economic laws and the market is in no way a concession to capitalist production or the abandoning of our socialist, self-managing course, stressed Milosevic, adding that, on the contrary, this is an essential prerequisite for social property to establish itself as the optimal form of property ownership. This is, according to him, also the way for socialism to show itself as a society that is not necessarily poor, because otherwise it is not attractive to people and has no historical chance.

When it comes to changes in the political system, Milosevic said that the initiatives set in motion should be used to reestablish the damaged unity of Yugoslavia, whose independent states, he said, even "children mock."

In the area of education and upbringing, Milosevic called for establishing a system of values that will not only orient young people toward socialist self-management, but will also equip them to further build and develop it. This is why, as he said, the young should be acquainted with the study of the classics of Marxism and their followers, and also with all scientific and cultural values of their times of a progressive nature, regardless of what part of the world they come from.

Going on to note that despite the clear and well-known starting points of the positive program for a way out of the crisis, it is not being uniformly realized, Milosevic said that there is no room in the LC for differing and opposing interpretations of production and other social relations. This brings into question the essential characteristics and goals of this sociopolitical organization, or rather, shows that it cannot have under its wing people with diametrically opposed ideological and political aspirations, said Milosevic.

He also warned of the unacceptability of arguments that would, under the slogan of "democracy," bring back the exploitation of labor, fratricidal conflicts, bureaucratic arbitrariness, and the degradation of man. This is why differentiation is essential in all areas of social life, particularly with regard to the various ideological roots of dogmatism that are notably hampering the necessary changes.

Apart from this ideological dogmatism there is also the regional, or rather Balkan dogmatism, Milsevic added, which understands politics as a struggle for its own, and not class, power. In the arsenal of their weapons, he said, the most dangerous in the present conditions is intolerance of educated and intelligent people, who represent our chance of social prosperity, even if this means a threat to the position of some less qualified and less intelligent people.

As for the less honest, their position should come under threat as soon as possible, concluded Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium. [passage omitted]

Serb Commission on Relations

AU281051 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Apr 87 p 2

[Text] (TANJUG) -- At the session of the Serbian LC Central Committee's Commission for International Relations and Cooperation (with Dr Momir Stojkovic presiding) the delegates discussed some topical questions regarding political cooperation with neighboring Balkan countries with particular reference to cooperation among sociopolitical organizations.

In his introductory speech, Dr Stanislav Stojanovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said that the policy of conducting good-neighbor relations and comprehensive cooperation with neighbors in the social and interstate domain represents one of our foreign policy priorities. The LCY and SFRY strive to be an active factor of good neighborliness, stabiity, and peace in the region. [paragraph continues]

They build their relations on the principles of full respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, and borders; equality and noninterference in the internal affairs of other peoples and states; and mutual respect and the recognition of differences in their international positions. During the discussion it was said that cooperation in the social and interstate domain in the Balkan region could be even more substantive and could be extended to other spheres of mutual interest than is the case today. It that respect full support was expressed for the initiative of Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, regarding a meeting of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers.

In our relations with neighbors there are many positive results but there are also some difficulties, checks, and fluctuations.

CROAT LC PLENUM VIEWS SELF-MANAGEMENT

LD250519 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0937 GMT 24 Apr 87

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 24 Apr (TANJUG) -- A session of the Croat LC Central Committee on the theme "Theoretical and Ideopolitical Development of the LC in the Struggle for the Development of Socialist Self-Management" is a contribution to the overall assessment of the problems of ideo-theoretical development and ideopolitical activity of the LCY. It is based on the work program of the Croat LC Central Committee, which, as early as October last year, charted a comprehensive discussion of the topical questions of the theoretical and ideopolitical development. The analytical material and the overall preparation for the session rely on the basic stands of the LCY program, conclusions and resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress and the 10th Congress of the Croat LC and the conclusions of the 13th LCY CC session, and take into account scientific research into the nature of the contemporary crisis, relations in society, and position of the LC and the assessments and proposals of an open, critical, and comprehensive discussion held in preparations for this session. With these words, Celestin Sardelic, member of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium, today started his introductory report at the eighth plenary session of the Croat LC Central Committee.

Under the presidency of Stanko Stojcevic, the Croat LC Central Committee is discussing theoretical and ideopolitical development of the LC in the struggle for the development of socialist self-management, the role and tasks of the Croat LC in the theoretical and ideopolitical development of the LC, development directions for Marxist centers, and the orientation program and work plan for the Vladimir Bakaric Center for ideo-theoretical work of the Croat LC Central Committee.

Today it is not enough to have a clear awareness about the problems we are facing, or a precise diagnosis of the situation, though we are lacking it, Sardelic said. Quoting Josip Broz, Sardelic assessed that today we need Tito's courage in facing the reality and resoluteness in opening up prospects in social development.

Defining the tasks of the LC, Sardelic said that they are contained in the long-term program of economic stabilization and the Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System, which are based on the LCY program. This orientation is based on recognizing the commodity character of production in a socialist self-managing society, and on drawing all the practical consequences from this, in the development of socialist democracy in society and the democratization of relations in the LC. [paragraph continued]

It starts from the role and initiative of associated producers, independence of work collectives, and their responsibility for development, from pooling labor and resources on self-management principles, integration of material and spiritual production, and the key significance of science, education, and culture in social development. Delays in this development are primarily the result of the lack of determination and resistance in the LC itself to persist in these orientations and this course.

The LC should make efforts toward having economic policy affirm the objective activity of economic laws and categories of the so-called real economy, and, through the measures of social policy, have it protest the most threatened strata of society. This primarily demands that organizations of associated labor become less dependent on the alientated centers of power and economic centers of power. This also a prerequisite for having economic associations on the unified Yugoslav market and making our economy capable of entering the world market. This is the only way to ensure a speedier development of everybody in Yugoslavia, as well as to ensure the necessary stimulation of a speedier development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. On the path of such a development, Sardelic warned, today some phenomena are emerging like some kind of alliance between the inefficient part of the economy and social work as a whole and those political structures which oppose changes. These sectors doubt the long-term program of economic stabilization, claiming that it contains supposed capitalist trends. Here, there are also inconsistent measures of the economic policy, sometimes contradictory economic-systemic regulations, and frequent changes of the development directions of the economic policy, which makes it more difficult to plan development. In the struggle against such ideas and resistance, the main goals of the LC action should be the struggle for the real domination of the interests of work, affirmation of knowledge, ability, and creativty.

Speaking about the operation of etatist and liberalist ideologies, Sardelic pointed out that in our conditions, these objectively open up opportunities for the emergence and growth of the forces of nationalism. They are built on the aspiration of alienated etatist-bureaucratic groups to establish and legalize their interests and power by putting forward the "supreme" interests of their own territorial and political -- that is, national -- community. Sardelic also drew attention to manifestations of clerico-nationalism, and said that the LC must act decisively to prevent room for political manipulation of a section of the high-ranking church hierarchy and the questionable alliance -- without in so doing infringing the constitutional freedoms for the operation of religious communities. After pointing to social action by the Croat LC in the struggle against forms of nationalism -- Croatian, Serbian and others -- in the SR of Croatia, Sardelic said that the Socialist Republic of Croatia is equally the homeland of Croats and Serbs and of all the nationalities that live here. There are no separate divisions, nor can there be. In opting for brotherhood and unity, for national equality and for a Yugoslav Federation, we are opting for Yugoslavia, for Tito's Yugoslavia and the AVNOJ Yugoslavia. The struggle against forms of nationalism, Sardelic went on, can only by conducted in terms of developing socialist self-management, in terms of the economic and social prosperity of all nations and nationalities.

Going on to cite figures showing that in the last 10 years or so the number of people employed in administration has increased by between 5 and 10 percent, which is considerably higher than the average rate of increase in employment, Sardelic pointed to the need for the LC to reaffirm its consciousness of the danger from bureaucratic etatism, the growth of the apparatus, administration and bureaucracy. The LC, too, must radically decentralize its being, its way of thinking, and its political activity. [paragraph continues]

In practice the LC still acts as a party in power. The stagnation is in the development of socialist self-management. In order for this development to get going more rapidly, the LC must change its strucure, its internal relations and its methods of operation. The influence of the working class on practical party policy is still far from being sufficient.

The first direction of the LC's action, Celestin Sardelic said, is to reaffirm the LC's role in society as laid down by the program, and to implement it in practice. Without a truly politically committed membership, there can be no strong LC and no strong leaderships. Without far-reaching changes in this direction there can be no political assumptions, either, that the working class really will become the factor carrying out the socialist transformation of society. Democratization of the LC is therefore a vital condition of the transformation, as is a developed political life in society as a whole. One of the causes of the crisis is certainly the fact that there is a lack of ideotheoretical and scientific research work in the LC. Renewal and development of ideological work is indivisible from the development of self-management in society and of democratic relations in the LC. The point of departure in that renewal today must clearly be the reaffirmation of the strategic guidelines of the LCY program. [passage omitted]

The work of the plenary session of the Croat LC Central Committee continued with Radule Knezevic, director of the Vladimir Bakaric Croat LC Central Committee center for ideological and theoretical work, expounding the program and plan for the center's work this year. He emphasized that the center's overall activities would be organized on principles which give maximum articulation to the revolutionary position of Yugoslav society and the LC. Thereby the tendencies to reduce theoretical work and ideopolitical training in the LC to an uninventive repetition of doctrinaire stereotypes will be overcome. [passage omitted]

The first speaker in the debate, Marijan Cingula, said that the basic ideological and theoretical direction of the LC's activity should be defined in the sphere of social reproduction and not in the sphere of ideological superstructure. The current way of regulating processes in social reproduction is markedly bureaucratic, unscientific, and contrary to the fundamental guidelines in the LCY program and the Constitution. A whole series of unwise actions in our economic policy has for years been justified precisely on the grounds of ideological categories, Cingula said, concluding that every law which regulates expanded production while diminishing the inalienable self-managing right of workers to make decisions on the conditions of acquiring and distributing income, is anticonstitutional and contrary to the LCY program.

Predrag Vranicki devoted the largest part of his report to assessments of the situation and ways of overcoming the crisis. Self-management has been stagnating for a long time and in some places it does not even exist, while various bureaucratic structures have been holding the majority of political and economic power. There is still a widespread dogmatic awareness that it is not capable of mobilizing broad strata of working people for a more successful and fruitful development of socialism. [passage omitted]

At the end, Vranicki demanded a radical rejection of the concept of socialism as a pure society, which can and must develop only on the basis of its own property. [paragraph continues]

Although its fundamental prospects lie in the development of social property, the private sector is justified and beneficial to the degree to which it can sustain the competition of the social sector. Speaking in favor of getting rid of dogmatism and abstract formulas on socialism, Vranicki suggested a discussion on the workers' movement in socialism. [passage omitted]

There were also conflicting views in the discussion, and Dusan Dragosavac presented a number of negative phenomena when speaking about nationalism, which Ivica Mastruko assessed as dwelling on marginal question and individual cases. This could hinder the resolving of basic tasks of the LC and reverse the development of things, said Mastruko. [passage omitted]

Stefan Korosec, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, also took part in the discussion stressing that the discussion in the Croat LC Central Committee, which will be held on 28th and 29th of this month with ideological questions on the agenda. Korosec noted that the LC must persevere in the process of the democratization of society, because there could be neither creativeness nor divergent views without the expansion of this process.

The discussion also examined social distrubances, work stoppages and other pehomena accompanying the current economic difficulties, which Veljko Cvjeticanin also spoke about. He spoke in favor of an analysis of these phenomena, so that the LC could be more capable of coming to grips with them before they acquire serious proportions. [passage omitted]

Winding up the discussion, which lasted all day and in which 26 speakers of the plenum took part, Stanko Stojcevic, president of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium, said that in the situation when a great deal ought to be changed and improved, it would be a good idea for Communists to recall what needed to be discussed among them in order to facilitate the implementation of their orientations. From this point of view, the discussion was all-embracing, open, democratic, and principled. No one had a desire to be exclusive and everyone showed consideration for everyone else. This is the proof, assessed Stojcevic, that the Croat LC and its Central Committee is taking the direction of the consistent implementation of the stands and conclusions of the 13th LCY Congress. [passage omitted]

Stojcevic also spoke in favor of intensification of the differentiation both in the LC and in society as a whole, not only on the ideopolitical but also on all the other fronts, such as a struggle against laziness and sloppiness. Of the forthcoming LCY Central Committee plenum, Stojcevic said that it is a contribution to the consolidation of the ideopolitical and ideological unity of the LCY, to which the Communists of this republic are also contributing a considerable amount. We must not allow the petty bourgeois to create opposition to the LC by telling stories, or to become its preoccupation. Every Communist must see this as a revolutionary development of society as a whole, concluded Stanko Stojcevic, president of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium.

Croat SAWP

LD272341 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Apr 87

[Excerpts] The Presidium of the Croat SAWP Republican Conference, in its capacity as the Republic's nomination conference, today ratified Ante Markovic's nomination for the post of the president of the Croat Presidency. [passage ommitted]

The Presidium of the Croat SAWP Republican Conference also discussed a number of other cadre policy issues which come under examination. It decided to recommend to the signatories of the Republic's social contract on cadre policy that the following be reelected to the Council of the Federation: Boris Bakrac, Marko Belinic, Marin Cetinic, and Josip Hrncevic.

The nomination procedure has also been set in motion for electing candidates for the post of Zagreb radio and television director general. Two candidates responded to the job advertisment: Veljko Knezevic and Nikola Ban. The presidium gave its preliminary endorsement of both candidates and today supported the proposal by Zagreb Radio and television Appointments Commission to give preference to Veljko Knezevic.

In the course of the discussion about the work of the Federation of Reserve officers of the SR of Croatia, the Presidium of the Croat SAWP Republican Conference came to a conclusion that both the ideopolitical and military-professional aspect of this organization with 160,000 members should be enhanced in order to provide all conditions necessary for its successful operation.

MORINA REPORTS ON 'ABUSE' OF LAW IN KOSOVO

AU221848 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Apr 87 p 9

[S. Zikic report: "Measures Taken Against 113 Employees of the Internal Affairs Secretariat"]

[Excerpts] Pristina, 20 Apr -- Despite noticeable results in this and previous periods, the situation continues to be burdened by numerous problems and difficulties in all the spheres of social development as well as by the presence of both the internal and external enemy and their collusion, particularly in their propaganda and subversive activities directed toward hampering positive security trends -- this was stated today by Rahman Morina, provincial secretary for internal affairs, speaking about the work of the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs at the session of all three Chambers of the Kosovo Assembly. [passage omitted]

Morina then spoke about the activities of a joing commission consisting of the members of federal, republican, and provincial secretariat for internal affairs formed to examine citizens' complaints. A number of complaints were also made against the members of the internal affairs organs. The commission examined 622 petitions and complaints made by citizens regarding citizens' conduct and the work of the security organs, out of which 254 were classified as founded. Out of these, 154 complaints were made by the members of the Serb and Montenegrin nationality and relate to the period 1981-86. Out of the stated number of founded complaints, 101 refer to omissions, overstepping official authority, and the abuse of official position by the workers of security organs, or to be more precise, it refers to 140 workers among which 102 are of Albanian and 38 of Serb nationality.

The Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs has taken measures against 60 workers who overstepped their authority or abused their official positions in dealings with citizens. They were dismissed from their jobs, found other jobs, disciplined, and even prosecuted for summary and criminal offenses.

On the basis of the work of the joint commission this number rose to 113. [passage omitted]

In the 6-year period the organs of internal affairs had to deal with 58.169 individuals who committed criminal offenses. The security organs discovered 21,988 new perpetrators. In their official capacity they summoned to their offices more than 150,000 people for criminal, summary, and administrative violations. This is why, according to Morina, the 110 members of the internal security organs against whom disciplinary measures were taken is not such an alarming number nor that big in relation to the number of committed criminal, summary, and other violations.

The aforementioned joint working group also examined the situation regarding unresolved fires, accidents, acts of sabotage, and explosions. Out of 1965 fires on private property, 369 or 18.7 percent were done to the detriment of Serbs and Montengrins. [passage omitted]

REPUBLICS, PROVINCE ELECT LOCAL PRESIDENTS

Vlasi in Kosovo

LD272313 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1526 GMT 27 Apr 87

[Text] Pristina, 27 Apr (TANJUG) -- At a session of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, held today, Azem Vlasi was reelected president of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee for the next year's mandate, following the support he received in all municipal organizations.

Azem Vlasi was born in 1948. He has been a member of the LCY since 1965. He graduated with a law degree. So far he has performed several significant functions. He was president of the conference of the Federation of the Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, president of the Provincial Conference of the Kosovo SAWP, and president of the Pristina LC municipal conference. He is a member of the LCY Central Committee.

Macedonia Reelects Stavrev

LD242216 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1207 GMT 24 Apr 87

[Text] Skopje, 24 Apr (TANJUG) -- At today's session, the Presidency of the SR of Macedonia reelected Dragoljub Stavrev to be President of the Presidency of the SR of Macedonia for the coming 1-year period.

Dragoljub Stavrev is reported to have been elected President of the Presidency on the basis of the standpoint of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium and of the coordinated standpoints in the coordinating committee of the Macedonian SAWP republican conference regarding the implementation of cadre policy in the SR of Macedonia. [paragraph continues]

His election is also founded upon the positive assessments and support by the executive organs of sociopolitical organizations, which were pronounced at an expanded session of the Macedonian SAWP Republican Conference Presidium.

Andric in Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD271511 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 27 Apr 87

[Text] Sarajevo, 27 Apr (TANJUG) -- At today's session in Sarajevo, the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina elected Mato Andric as president of the Presidency, on the basis of united support in consultations held in the republic.

HASANI SENDS MESSAGE TO 'GROUP OF 77' IN HAVANA

AU272121 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Apr 87 p 5

[Text] Belgrade, 21 April -- Sinan Hasani, president of the SFRY Presidency, has, on behalf of the SFRY Presidency, sent a telegram to the participants of the ministerial meeting of the "Group of 77" developing countries held in Havana with wishes for success in the work.

The message stresses the importance Yugoslavia attaches to this meeting which should determine the joint platform and strategy of the "Group of 77" for the Seventh United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

The message among other things says that in their preparations up to now, developing countries have demonstrated readiness for open and constructive dialogue and negotiations which leads one to believe that the meeting will result in a platform which will strengthen its unity and action capability in negotiations in Geneva.

TANJUG Report on Group

LD242214 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1221 GMT 24 Apr 87

[By Dusan Dakovic]

[Text] Havana, April 24 (TANJUG) -- Debt servicing will not be possible wishes unless development of the debtor countries is ensured. This is the key message of the Havana meeting which will most probably be formulated exactly like this and included in the Havana declaration and the political document of the meeting whose essence is to coordinate attitudes and decide on a strategy of the 127 developing countries, members of the Group of 77, for the seventh session of UNCTAD.

Saying this on the last day of the meeting here the participants point to the untenableness of the thesis of south-south cooperation as a solution to all problems. The message from Havana is that the debts will be paid if the creditor countries supply the funds.

Last year the developing countries set aside about 35 percent of exports income for servicing of their debt. Since 1983 the 127 developing countries have been exporters of net capital, thus financing the "north."

Debtor countries returned 31 billion dollars, and received only 6.8 billion dollars from commercial banks last year. The same year the "great financier of the south" -- the International Monetary Fund (IMF) -- collected one billion dollars more than it approved to the developing countries.

A proposal to ask the financial institutions to buy out, that is to take over, part of the debt from commercial banks and approve more favourable conditions of debt payment will probably be upheld by the end of the meeting. A proposal that payments be linked to a percentage of the export, on the model of the "Peruvian practice", and that part of the debt be turned into shareholding capital and be invested in development of the economy of the "south" has been set out.

Together with these proposals, a demand has been made to increase the so-called special drawing rights by 15 billion dollars which would represent the credit amount the IMF can approve to the developing countries.

The United States, Great Britain and some countries of the European Community tried to hinder in advance any kind of global dialogue at the seventh UNCTAD. On the other hand, there has been no indication of a change in the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty countries' attitude, who say that colonialism, capitalism and neocolonialism are responsible for the difficulties of the "south" and that those who are guilty should take the responsibility.

Developing countries have agreed on a very limited agenda for the UNCTAD meeting in Geneva. It has one title: "Revival of Development, Growth and International Trade."

Delegate Address

AU272036 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Apr 87 p 5

[Excerpts] Havana, 21 April (TANJUG) -- The debate which continued today at the ministerial meeting of the "Group of 77" in Havana, confirmed the views that at this meeting developing countries will formulate a single and powerful document, the strategy for the Seventh United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).

One of the first participants in the debate opened last night, Dr Ibrahim Tabakovic, head of the Yugoslav delegation and member of the FEC, said that it is necessary to urgently hold a political dialogue to find global solutions for developing countries' economic troubles.

The biggest problem is the problem of debts which, totaling $1,036 billion, hamper development and eat up about 30 percent of all foreign currency earnings of the South. According to Tabakovic, president of the FEC Commission for Cooperation With Developing Countries, the burden of debts should be equally shared between debtors and creditors. [passage omitted]

According to Tabakovic, the present situation in the economies of developing countries is the result of the developed countries' deflationary policies which are primarily directed toward solving their own economic problems at the expense of the South. [passage omitted]